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Portrait of C. B. Brown from a miniature by William Duntlap in 1806

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN.

C. B. Brown

THE LIFE

OF

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN:

TOGETHER

WITH SELECTIONS

FROM

THE RAREST OF HIS PRINTED WORKS,

FROM HIS

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

AND FROM HIS

MANUSCRIPTS BEFORE UNPUBLISHED.

BY WILLIAM DUNLAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY JAMES P. PARKE,

NO. 74, SOUTH SECOND STREET.

Merritt, Printer.

1815.

GLD



District of Pennsylvania, to wit :

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the eighth day of November in the fortieth year of the Independence of th United States of America, A. D 1815. Elizabeth L. Brown of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book the right whereof she claims as proprietor in the words following ; to wit :

“ The Life of Charles Brockden Brown : together with selections from the rarest of his printed works, from his original letters. and from his manuscripts before unpublished. By William Dunlap. In Two Volumes.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “ an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned.” And also to the act entitled “ an act supplementary to an act entitled “ an act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,” and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania

PREFACE.

The plan of these volumes, and the proposals for their publication were laid before the public without the knowledge of the writer of the biography. Engagements having been entered into with subscribers, the present writer has been engaged to fulfil them, but not until the selections for the first volume had been made and printed.

The gentleman who made this selection conceived, that although these papers "might excite, without gratifying the reader's curiosity, they might be considered as of some importance in a biographic point of view. They develop the extent and variety of his (the author's) intellectual powers more fully than a mere statement of the fact could have done without such documents. This is the only interest which it was expected that their publication would excite, and with this view only they were given.

"This will likewise serve to explain what might otherwise appear confused in the arrangement of this matter. The author, from a long train of subtle and metaphysical reasoning would fly to fancy for recreation, and from fancy to metaphysical subtleties again. It was supposed that by combining these the reader would be able to conceive with

more accuracy the power which the writer possessed in so eminent a degree, of changing his topics when the one which he handled became irksome. He is thus made in a measure to speak his own biography, and to supersede the necessity of further comment. In short, these papers, unfinished as they evidently are, will, it is presumed, answer the purpose for which alone they were intended, to give a fair exhibition of the extent and variety of the author's powers. That they are not brought to a regular conclusion, is to be undoubtedly regretted; but this defect is irremediable by the death of the writer, and in all human probability they would have remained in their present state were he now living."

BIOGRAPHY

OF

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN.

IT is generally expected that the subjects of biography should be men, who, having attracted the world's gaze by their deeds, their inventions, or their writings, leave at their death a strong curiosity, to be satisfied by a detail of their private lives, and the circumstances which led to their notoriety. But the subject of the present work had not attracted that universal notice, nor excited that interest, even among his countrymen generally, which would authorize the writing his life upon the principle of gratifying public curiosity; yet there are not wanting sufficient reasons to induce an expectation that these volumes will excite interest, convey instruction, and induce a lively regret that their subject was prevented by death from attaining that celebrity which his talents and acquirements must have gained for him, and of leaving to his country works of the highest importance both scientific and literary.

Charles Brockden Brown was among the earlier adventurers into the world of fiction and the painful path of public amusement or instruction, by the pen and the press, which the United States of America produced; and the early adventurers in

all perilous undertakings are justly objects of curiosity and interest. Those who first saw the propriety of men in a new and better political state, throwing off the shackles of an absurd prejudice in favour of European opinions and writings, as they had thrown from them the proffered chains and rejected the pretensions of European tyranny; those who first saw that the inhabitants of a country no less removed by the enjoyment of greater liberty and better forms of government, by the more extensive diffusion of the benefits of education and property, and the consequent greater purity of public morals, from the tyranny and intolerance of the long established governments of Europe, and the squalid ignorance and poverty of the principal part of their population, than by the remoteness of their situation from the ordinary range of European politics and influence of European ambition; those who at the same time that they acknowledged the inestimable value of English, French and German literature, saw the necessity of establishing a literature for their own country; who saw the advantages of publications suited to a new state of manners and political æconomy, and which should not only produce original instruction, but point out and sever the good from the bad in the literature and institutions of Europe; however inefficient their efforts may have been, are entitled to the thanks of their countrymen, and will hereafter be esteemed not merely in proportion to that which they performed, but by the effects of their efforts upon those who follow in the path they opened. On this ground, as well as on that of uncommon talents and exemplary virtues, the subject of the following pages is entitled to a large portion of public attention.

It may be asserted that no man contemns the credit which is derived from ancestry. The honours which are bestowed, or assumed, from the mere circumstance of being able to speak of the fame or virtues of our forefathers are doubtless of little value in comparison with those honours which personal merit obtains; yet they are, in the opinion of mankind, of some worth, and are felt to be so by every individual. Of this species of credit, Charles Brockden Brown had a larger share than falls to the lot of the greater portion of mankind;

and stood on the happy level with most of his fellow citizens of the United States. His parents were virtuous, religious people, and as such held a respectable rank in society; and he could trace back a long line of ancestry holding the same honourable station. Natives of England, and professing those religious opinions which drew upon the first of the sect, the contemptuous appellation of Quaker, an appellation which, though bestowed in reviling, has become a name of honour, and adoption through the virtues of the possessors, his ancestors fled from the persecutions of their country in the same ship with William Penn, and trusted to the savages and the wilderness, rather than to the justice of their countrymen.

Charles Brockden Brown was born on the seventeenth day of January, in the year 1771, in the city of Philadelphia.

Brown is one of those names which belongs to so great a portion of those who descend from English parentage, that it ceases to identify an individual. Brockden is a happy addition which was derived from a distant relation whose history as preserved in the traditionary records of the family is too remarkable to be passed over without notice.

Charles Brockden lived in England, under the reign of the infamous Charles the Second. It is well known that the latter part of the life of the monarch was disturbed, if not by conscience, at least by the dread of the people's vengeance. Reports of plots and conspiracies disturbed the pensioner of France, even in the arms of his mistresses. Charles Brockden was at that time a student in the office of a lawyer who was deeply implicated in one of these plots. The conspirators assembled at the house of his master for the purpose of holding a consultation on the most practicable mode of accomplishing their design. Brockden in an adjoining room heard distinctly the whole of their conversation, but was at length, by some untoward accident, discovered by the conspirators. Aware of his danger he counterfeited sleep; but so serious was the dread of detection, excited by this circumstance in the minds of the conspirators, that for their mutual security, the majority of them resolved upon his immediate death. His master wishing to preserve the life of his appren-

tice, represented him as too stupid to comprehend the meaning of their conversation had he listened to it, and used his eloquence to persuade them not to embrue their hands in the blood of an innocent boy. They yielded for the time, but so great was his personal danger afterwards, from the returning apprehensions of the conspirators, that his master insisted on his embracing the first favourable opportunity of embarking for America. This the boy accordingly did, and was promoted by his talents and industry to an important office in the province of Pennsylvania, which he filled with dignity and honour. From this person Charles Brown inherited the additional name of Brockden.

Charles Brockden Brown at a very early period of childhood acquired that fondness for books which encreased with him through life. Possessing a frail and delicate constitution he seldom mingled in the sports of children, and that spirit of curiosity which is strong within us at our entrance upon the bustling scenes of life, not being gratified or dissipated by the usual communication and exertions of childhood, found in books a delightful source of knowledge, and an inexhaustible fund of amusement. The mind of Charles was intensely devoted to reading at an age in which boys are usually exhausting their superabundant spirit of animation in what appears idle recreation, but which often gives spring and force to both mental and physical exertion in future life. His parents relate that when but an infant, if they left home, he required nothing but a book to divert him, and on their return they would find him musing over the page with all the gravity of a student. On his return from school they would find him at the hour of dinner in the parlour, where, having slipped off his shoes, he was mounted on a table and deeply engaged in the consultation of a map suspended on the side of the wall. It was thus that in Charles intellectual labour itself became a species of recreation; and thinking, which is to the uncultivated so laborious and irksome an occupation, became to him the most delightful of employments.

At the age of ten Charles was reproved by a visitor of his father's for some remark, which probably ought to have called

forth commendation, by the contemptuous appellation of *boy*. After the guest had departed, "Why does he call me boy?" said Charles, "Does he not know that it is neither size nor age, but understanding that makes the man? I could ask him an hundred questions, none of which he could answer." At this period of his life he was so intimately acquainted with the science of geography, that he became a sort of gazetteer to his father, and would point out to him on the map or chart almost any part of the world which he made inquiry after; and could generally give some account of the place.

With habits so happily adapted to derive every advantage from instruction and disciplined study, he entered the school of Robert Proud, now well known as the author of the history of Pennsylvania. At the age of eleven he received from this gentleman the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages; and Mr. Proud always spoke in the most flattering terms of his rapid proficiency and unabating industry. The constitution of Charles, at all times delicate, was now breaking down beneath the efforts which strengthened and enriched his mind. What pity it is that the application which assimilates man most to the exalted idea which we form of immortal perfection should so certainly tend to enfeeble his body and shorten his mortal existence, while the brutalizing occupations of continued and thought-expelling labour, give firmness and vigour and duration to the frame of man. We are thus, however, taught to check the ardent pursuit of knowledge, and deny gratification to our love of seclusion; to recal our minds to the mingled scenes of society, and impose upon our bodies the necessary tasks of labour and healthful exercise. Charles's preceptor at this time recommended an abstinence from study, and prescribed relaxation and excursions into the country as indispensable for the re-establishment of his health.

The excursions of Charles were made on foot, and so great was the benefit which he received from his pedestrian exercises, that he continued the practice ever after. The man who is habituated to solitary walking knows that it is impossible to make the mind move with the same creeping pace which is imposed upon the body; ever alert, it flies into every

region of the known and unknown world, and while the feet measure the distance between two mile stones, the mind ranges through the boundless regions of possible existence. Hence arises an habitual abstraction, which operating upon a mind so previously prepared as that of Charles's, caused, from a total unconsciousness of what was passing about him, or of the flight of time, or the progress of his feet, such unseasonable rambles as often to excite great uneasiness in the different members of his family.

After he left the school of Mr. Proud, which was before he had completed the sixteenth year of his age, he wrote a number of essays, some in verse and some in prose. Amongst these may be mentioned, a version of a part of the book of Job, some of the psalms of David, and several passages of Ossian. At the age of sixteen he sketched plans of three distinct epic poems, one on the discovery of America, another on Pizarro's conquest of Peru, and a third on Cortez's expedition to Mexico. With these he was much engrossed, and for some time thought life only desirable as a mean for their accomplishment.

About this time Charles busied himself in inventing a species of short-hand writing, and actually enabled himself to take down the words of a speaker with almost the same rapidity as they are usually uttered; he likewise studied, unassisted but by books, the French language. In this state of intellectual revelry, by diversifying his studies and pursuits he gave to each a character of novelty, which answered the purposes of relaxation, and by the aid of his pedestrain rambles kept up as ample a portion of strength and health as the nature of his constitution and the slender texture of his body would admit.

But amidst the diversities of study and changes of avocation in which his active mind ran riot, it now became indispensably necessary for him to make his choice of a profession. That freedom almost amounting to licentiousness with which Charles roved unguided in pursuit of knowledge, had not fitted him for the severe study of one science; however, he made his choice of the profession of the law. This science,

to a mind so ardent in the pursuit of information, opened a wide and inexhaustible field for indulgence. It is withal, in this country, one of the roads to opulence, and the most certain path to political importance and fame. Charles needed not the importunity of friends or relatives to decide his choice in favour of the law, and was with high expectations of future eminence in that profession, apprenticed to Alexander Wilcox, esqr. an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia.

There is no circumstance of more importance to a man's future welfare, than that his early associates should be happily chosen. Brown selected for his first set of friends, several young men of brilliant talents, amiable dispositions and ardent minds, who, though all of characters very distinct from his, excited his emulation and called into action his mental powers. He at this time became one of a society for debating questions of law, and had for associates young men who have since been the ornaments of the profession, yet Charles was, amongst these, distinguished both for solidity of judgment, and acuteness of investigation.

After the day, passed in Mr. Wilcox's office, Charles retired to his chamber and recorded in a journal all the incidents and reflections which had occurred in that space of time. He composed and transcribed letters and even copied into his journal the epistles he received from his correspondents. This severe tax upon his time was intended for improvement both in thinking and writing, and as a record of that improvement. He was always anxious to acquire a facility of writing and a correct and graceful style; and journalizing was the first expedient which suggested itself to him for the accomplishment of that desirable object. He early, however, studied with assiduity, the writings of the best English authors, with the same view, and those who have attended to his later writings will not hesitate to give great praise to the style in which they are composed, and to lament that so early a period was put by death to the rapid improvement of his rich and active mind.

Among the associates of Brown, was one of the name of Davidson, who conceived the design of forming and estab-

lishing a literary society. Brown was invited to become a member, but not having at that time a just idea of the improvement always derived from such associations, he entered reluctantly into the plan, but soon became the leader, and prepared a set of rules which were adopted with some slight modifications. The society consisted of nine members, and was called the Belles Lettre Club. Its object was twofold, improvement in composition and eloquence; and in both, there is good reason to believe that Brown excelled his companions.

As member of the law society, Charles was no less zealous and active. While president, it was part of his official duty to record his judgment on the questions debated. These records are now preserved, and they afford an honourable testimony to his sagacity, sound judgment and research. They are likewise delivered in a style of gravity, becoming a judge, and widely different from that in which he usually wrote. It has been remarked by a friend, "that the most complicated judgment," recorded by Charles "embracing reported cases of unusual subtlety with his reasons at length on a question by far the most difficult that fell to his province to decide, is delivered with more perspicuity than any of the rest, in a language destitute of all embellishment, and with peculiar nicety of detail. He was in fact," continues the same friend, "a model of the dry, grave, and judicial style of argument. Directly after he had disposed of this question, as appears from his journal, he gave vent to his fancy in a poetical effusion, as much distinguished by its wild and excentric brilliance, as the other composition was for its plain sobriety and gravity of style. They are perfect opposites, and any one who perused them, would with difficulty be persuaded that so much excentricity, and so much regularity, were the productions of one man; much less would he believe them to have proceeded from the same source with the interval of a few moments only."

While thus ostensibly studying law, but in reality indulging himself in every freak, suggested by his love of literature and of fame, he presented himself to the world in the

Columbian Magazine, in the character of a rhapsodist. The first number of this series was published in the month of August, 1789. Although the title was assumed, the *character* was not. Charles in these essays exhibits himself. We behold a young and ardent mind straining after unattainable perfection, always dissatisfied with and struggling to surpass its most successful efforts. He tells the world with what rapture he has held communion with his own thoughts amidst the gloom of surrounding woods, where his fancy "has peopled every object with ideal beings, and the barrier between himself and the world of spirits, seemed burst by the force of meditation. In this solitude he feels himself surrounded by a delightful society; but when he is transported from thence, and compelled to listen to the frivolous chat of his fellow beings, he then suffers all the miseries of solitude. He acknowledges however, that his intercourse and conversation with mankind had wrought a salutary change; that he can now mingle in the concerns of life, perform his appropriate duties, and reserve that higher species of discourse for the solitude and silence of his study."

That Charles thus early saw the error of indulging in this romancing vein, and perceived that it unfitted him for the conversation and duties of real life is here made evident; but that he had at this time or even much later in life, corrected the evil, was not true. He long after this period loathed the common pursuits and common topics of men, and appeared in society an eccentric, if not an isolated being.

About this time he published in an Edentown news-paper, a poetical address to Dr. Franklin. "The blundering printer, says Charles in his journal, from his zeal or his ignorance, or perhaps from both, substituted the name of Washington. Washington therefore stands arrayed in awkward colours. Philosophy smiles to behold her darling son; she turns with horror and disgust from those who have won the laurel of victory in the field of battle, to this her favourite candidate who had never participated in such bloody glory, and whose fame was derived from the conquest of philosophy alone. The printer by his blundering ingenuity made the subject ri-

diculous. Every word of this clumsy panegyric was a direct slander upon Washington, and so it was regarded at the time."

The formation of the literary society or Belles Lettre Club before, was probably the most powerful circumstance in the early life of Brown in deciding his future prospects and destiny. As such I will dwell more particularly on some circumstances connected with its formation, especially as they display uncommon powers of intellect and language in a boy of sixteen.

Charles had demanded of his friend Davidson, by letter, "*the relation, dependance, and connection of the several parts of knowledge,*" and his friend, in reply, instead of answering his question, proposes a literary society. Disappointed, Charles undertakes to answer himself thus in his Journal :

"The relations, dependencies, and connections of the several parts of knowledge, have long been a subject of unavailing inquiry with me. In my late commenced correspondence with Emelius, this was the question upon which I demanded his opinion : he has not yet returned an answer to my letter, though from his expressions at the meeting at Franklin's, I judge he had some serious intentions of answering it. The carrying into effect this scheme of a society, will I am afraid be to him a sufficient excuse for omitting it. I now intend to try what my own unassisted capacity can do towards classing and separating the several departments of knowledge. However, to my task.

"The general, and I believe the true division of science, is into moral and physical. The object of moral science is the mind, the object of physical, matter ; this is sufficiently plain. I understand the distinction between matter and mind, or spirit (for they are synonymous) without the trouble of a definition.

"(Mind and matter are the two grand divisions of science, but we cannot have any object of moral science, but that portion of spirit within ourselves ; while in this life mind perhaps can never be considered in any other way than in conjunction with matter. That science which considers mind in its essence, which considers spirit distinct from, and as much as possible indepen-

Jant of matter, is I think called metaphysics. Is there not a difference between the consideration of the mind in its essence or being, and the consideration of the mind, as it acts with relation to something else, just as we consider man in the several lights of a rational creature, and as a member of society? We know that our minds are continually employed in the exercise of apprehension, reason, and will: but we know that these operations of the mind are employed upon things outward and foreign to itself. When we view it in these operations, I think we do not view as metaphysicians, we must give another name to the science; perhaps it is logic. Man may be considered in a variety of lights; the distinction between physical and moral science take their rise in him; he is a creature of matter and mind, composed in newly organized matter; he is superior to the brutes only in degree, and he is equally with them, the object of physical science; but in mind he differs from them originally and in kind. He is therefore the only subject of moral sciences; as an animal he is the subject of natural history. What is anatomy? Is it not natural history? It examines his internal structure and formation: what is this but natural history? all animals are the subjects of anatomy, perhaps all substances: the dissection of a rabbit and the resolution of a metallic substance, are they not equally anatomy, only the instrument made use of is fire in one, and the lancet in the other? However, chemistry is only a more exact and thorough anatomy. Chemistry and anatomy therefore are nearly allied, their object is the same, their difference consists only in the different nature of the things on which they operate, and they are both ranked under the science of natural history. Man as an animal is the subject of the science of medicine, which is nothing more than the art of curing diseases incident to the human body. But there are diseases incident to the mind also; is the cure of these the province of the physician, when the mind is affected by the disorders of the animal system, or when its diseases may be cured, by application of external remedies? It is thus the province of the physician. It is necessary for a physician to be an anatomist, that is, the natural historian of man: because the knowledge of his interior formations may lead him to the

source or cause of the diseases incident to him. It may be a question whether the experimental mode in physic, that is, the theory of disease drawn from anatomy, is equally advantageous to the cause of true science, as the same mode in the other part of natural philosophy. But I am not physician enough to know whether I speak properly.

“Man, as I said before, as an animal, is the object of medicine ; but there are other animals besides ; the science of medicine therefore is not confined to him only. But why is the cow doctor, the horse doctor considered so meanly of then ? 1, because the diseases of other animals are less numerous and complicated : 2, because the life or health of a brute is of much less importance in the eye of man than the life or health of his fellow creature, and the diseases of men are more new and difficult, because of the connection between his mind and his body, and the mutual influence they have upon each other.

“The consideration of the internal structure of man, with reference to the internal structure of other animals, or vice versa, is called comparative anatomy.

“Man possesses five senses or inlets to his mind. Of these the sight is the most useful, extensive and delicate in its formation. Optics is that science which explains the theory of light and colours, and describes the manner in which outward objects affect the sight. The science of the oculist consists in the knowledge of the cure of the diseases incident to the eye. The importance of sight to men, and the exquisite organization of that matter in which it is centered, demand and have a separate theory. The teeth also, though none of the senses, from their usefulness in mastication, but principally from the addition, which when perfect, they are supposed to contribute to the beauty of the human face, employ, though undeservedly, a separate profession. Man may be considered as one and alone ; or he may be considered as a member of a community, and connected with others.”

At the first meeting of the society, Brown, who had been chosen to deliver an address upon the objects of the institution, read the following.

“ Amidst the various subjects of disquisition which naturally present themselves upon this occasion, inquiries into the genius and design of this Institution are those, from which most immediate instruction may be derived, and the talents of the writer most beneficially employed. As the laws and constitution of this country will justly claim a principal share of every good citizen’s attention, so it is also incumbent on us, who are members of a smaller community, to acquaint ourselves with the nature and reason of that association to which we are united. But although this is a duty from which none of us can suppose himself entirely exempted, it more peculiarly belongs to him who is destined to begin the career of literary improvement, and to enter immediately upon that theatre which to others still remains in distant and imperfect prospect. With what fear or diffidence he prepares to discharge the duty imposed upon him he need not mention. When his defects in style or sentiment are perceived, his fellow members will forgive the inexperience of the writer, and some apology may be indulged to the circumstances in which he writes. Great will he esteem the honour if he is permitted to appear foremost on the records of this society, though for that distinction he sacrifices every benefit to be derived from example and experience. The subject he has chosen will throw some little lustre on his composition, and some of his defects may reasonably be ascribed to the warmth with which he expatiates in a field so congenial with his inclination.

“ In this essay I shall attempt to sketch the leading features of our constitution, and to unfold the most obvious relations between the laws and those whose conduct they are designed to regulate ; the more minute and imperceptible lines in which its specific nature consists may be reserved for future and more accurate investigation. To give a general idea of the spirit of laws as they are peculiar to this institution, is a task of no small labour and importance. The time indeed will not admit of that proper and complete discussion which the nature of the subject requires. This society is in its infancy ; the vital principle is scarcely roused into action. At a more advanced period, when its operations shall have gained some degree of sta-

bility, when conjecture is ripened into fact, and when the views and reasonings of mistaken foresight have yielded to the certain, and more obvious conclusions of experience, this subject will find employment for abler pens, and deservedly receive a thorough investigation.

“Literary improvement is certainly the object which every one proposes to himself in becoming a member of this society, however uninformed he may be with respect to the manner in which his talents will be called forth. He is already convinced that his mental powers only are the subjects of intended cultivation, but when he has once fixed the boundary in his mind, he is apt to think no farther division is necessary: he gives his imagination full liberty to range without controul through the whole circle of human knowledge, in the belief that whatever calls for the exertion of his mental faculties is already within his reach, and may reasonably be appropriated to his own use. He confides in projects which present an endless gradation of improvement. The road to knowledge is open before him, the prize of literary excellence is displayed in his sight, and personal assiduity and attention only are required to remove every impediment between him and the object of his ambition. In short he believes it impossible to form a wish too sanguine for the occasion. That such are really the expectations of some, no one can doubt, whose own feelings are an evidence of the fact with respect to himself. It may seem impossible in those, the poverty of whose imagination confines them to limits even narrower than those of matter of fact. But the case is otherwise with those who find an interest in yielding to the persuasions of fancy, even in opposition to the sober dictates of their judgment. Whether the hopes of such be in truth fallacious and extravagant, I shall not presume to determine. I will not even deny that this society will fully answer his idea, but I am perfectly convinced of the possibility of framing a system which shall gratify every propensity to enlarge the circle of his faculties, of which the human mind is capable; a system calculated to employ at once the reason, memory, and imagination of man.

“An idea of perfection incompatible with the present state of

things, is generally the object of contemplation with philosophers. In the bosom of retirement and leisure we are apt to pour forth a visionary beauty and proportion upon the scenes around us, which vanish away when we come to examine them more nearly, and to try them by the unfailing test of experience. Hence the faultless pictures of manners and of government so frequent in their writing ; pictures, which it is acknowledged, afford conspicuous proofs of goodness of heart, and vigour of intellect in the contriver ; but it is denied that they contribute any thing to the happiness of society. This in general may be true. But though I am sensible that dreams of absolute perfection, can be realized only in another world ; that plans of government without defect, and men whose spirits have been rendered perfect, can appear only in a future and unknown stage of being ; yet I cannot help thinking but that success in every pursuit will be commensurate to the ideas of perfection which we entertain concerning that pursuit. When we set before our eyes an object, as the end of our endeavours, however exalted and far beyond our reach, and lend our exertions solely to that object, our continued struggles will at length raise us to that elevated pitch of knowledge or of virtue, in which the imperfection of our nature is capable of supporting us. In contemplating the designs of a Raphael or Angelo, it is impossible to produce a picture totally devoid of grandeur or of grace. An attempt to fashion according to an imaginary standard in our own minds, the habits and dispositions of men, when their faculties have attained their full vigour, and when education can no longer have any influence over their conduct ; may meet with obstacles not to be surmounted, but by a being of superior power and capacity. But education claims an unbounded dominion over the separate provinces of infancy and youth, whether she employs precept and authority as the instruments of her purpose, or engages the passions of youth on her side by means of example and emulation, she is able to instil into the uninformed minds of her pupils, whatever sentiment or disposition she pleases.

“ Of the noblest species of education, an institution like the present will furnish a complete example. We may justly be de-

nominated pupils, since our design is to learn, or at least to improve what we have already learned; but we are pupils to whom the pedantic character of a preceptor, and the servile forms of scholastic discipline are unknown. Reason is the authority which exacts our obedience; and emulation the principle that promotes our improvement. On this subject therefore theory can scarcely be exhausted. Here at least the hand can execute what the head is able to contrive. The idea of a perfect commonwealth is not the same extravagant thing in education as in politics. The settled depravity of mankind, will never yield to the gentle admonitions of the wise, and the stubborn and inveterate prejudices of the vulgar, will be always hostile to the kindly influence of good government.

“But the manners of youth are fresh and pliant, their deviations from the path of rectitude and duty may more easily be recalled, and it is by no means difficult to accelerate their steps in the pursuit of knowledge. Were it required of me to make the experiment, and to produce a system, simple in its construction, but calculated to answer the purposes of its formation, with the utmost precision and success; I should demand nothing but that the circumstances of time, and place, should be favourable to my design. A demand which by no means implies an impossibility of introducing my system into general use. No formed design is always consistent with the present appearances of things, and little credit is due to his sagacity, who ushers every invention into light at the moment it receives a form in his own conception. If he wishes success to his own undertakings he must wait the proper opportunity to disclose them, when the things around him wear a favourable aspect, and are prepared to smile upon his purposes. Though an opportunity may not at present offer, I may safely trust to the natural course of events, and am under no necessity of impressing laws upon matter, or on mind different from those by which they now exist.

“Such are my sentiments of the possible excellence of literary association among youth. For I must confess this society falls somewhat short of that perfect plan which presents itself to my imagination. A plan for which I cannot help contemplating with

pleasure, though the situation of myself as well as others will not suffer me to indulge a hope of seeing it carried into effect. It is not a matter of serious concern, but a matter of rational amusement only, that we thus associate together. Our die is already cast, the path which his steps are to occupy is already pointed out to each of us; we are soon to throw aside that subordinate character in which we have hitherto been trained, and to step forth upon the theatre of life, supported only by our own talents and address. It behoves us to make preparation for that awful crisis in choosing our future parts. Due caution and circumspection should undoubtedly be used. But when our choice is made, vigour and celerity alone, are required to demand the applause of our fellow citizens. But though a principal share of our attention is already appropriated, we must not suffer one object to engross the whole; various accomplishments are requisite to make any single character complete; whatever his profession may be (I speak of those of the liberal kind) he will soon feel the absolute necessity of devoting some of his time to the study of polite literature. If the native beauty of the liberal arts be found unable to allure him, his interest alone will incite him to the pursuit. Thus he may owe the most valuable of intellectual treasure to motives the most sordid and interested. To those who testify a relish for such studies, no argument is necessary to attach them still closer to their favourite object; few of them indeed can resist the strong attraction which they feel towards it. Fondly overcome by the bewitching charms of this their favourite pursuit, they become regardless of the voice of reason, and are totally immersed in the soothing pleasures of intoxicated fancy. The enthusiasm of poetry is no less strong and violent than that of religion; they flow in separate channels, but are derived from the self same fountain. Abhorring equally the noise and clamour of the forum, they fly to solitude and silence, to musing, and to contemplation, frequenters of the shade, and accustomed to indulge the airy flights of a fancy vigorous from use, and bold from the absence of constraint, they are equally governed by imaginary inspiration. They turn their eyes from the insipid scene without, and seek a gayer prospect, and a visionary happiness in a world of their own creation. But those who are superior to the strong attraction of their genius, whose

imagination is awed and corrected by their judgment, will still preserve an intimate acquaintance with the liberal sciences in their passage through life.

“The whole circle of human knowledge is indeed bound together by a strong and indissoluble chain ; they mutually receive and impart strength and lustre. The several and distinct sciences which are derived from the reason, the memory, and the imagination, are as intimately connected with each other, as those powers are in the human mind. The traits of resemblance for example between moral and physical science are so many, so various, and so complex, that it is a task of no little labour and ingenuity properly to separate them. Philosophy owes its precision to history, and history is enlightened by the beams of rational philosophy. The presence of the muses softens the severer genius of the law, and without their kindly influence, even the study of nature becomes harsh and unpleasing. The pleasures of taste on the contrary, are often carried to a vicious extreme, unless corrected by a seasonable mixture of philosophical severity.

“The connection is not more exquisite between the spiritual and material worlds, than between the several provinces of imagination and reason. As matter separate from mind would be totally devoid of life and motion, so reason deprived of the invigorating influence of the fancy, would be a *caput mortuum*, to the last degree lifeless and insipid.

“To obviate the inconvenience of such an unnatural separation, to ornament the mind as well as to improve the understanding, is, I think, the business of this society. With this view we have entitled it the society of *Belle Lettres*. This is a term of very peculiar signification. It does not denote any specific division of the sciences logically arranged ; it even comprehends science and art, within the same circle. It has been generally understood to signify a combination of the most popular studies, and those which are best suited to the free and easy strain of conversation. If this definition be admitted as a good one, fashion alone must be admitted as the standard of decision. Different parts of the world, as well as different ages of it, may entertain different notions concerning the particular objects of study, which should be ranked under this denomination ; one people may be totally absorbed in mathematical inquiries, and the abstrusest spe-

ulation in that science may become the theme of every literary circle. In another country he is the politest man, and most distinguished of the respectable band of the literati, who comes into the company of the learned fraught with profoundest erudition. The standard of taste is with them the dry discriminating spirit of the metaphysician. An enormous lexicon, or tedious commentary upon an inconsiderable classic, is placed upon a level with the most admired production of genius. Among a third people, a softer genius may prevail, captivated by the melody of sound, and the mimic creation of the pencil. The glory of a Handel or a Rubens, will be the sole subject of their refined conversation. The tribute of applause and admiration will be due to him, who best unfolds the hidden soul of harmony, or transfers nature into his pictures without blemish or defect. So great a diversity of tastes, cannot be conceived to be impossible; they have even actually appeared at different periods in the same nation. But a moment's reflection will convince us, that nothing is impossible to the restless caprice of fashion. Fashion may affix what stamp she pleases to the term of *Belle Lettres*, and this stamp must of consequence be in perpetual change. But it is needless to be very curious in defining the exact import of the word. Polite learning sometimes under the name of humanity, and sometimes of *Belle Lettres*, has long been the subject of academical education in the universities of Europe. Its nature and boundaries therefore must have been long since fixed, and determined with a precision sufficient for our purpose. According to my own observation, and in the main agreeably to the method adopted in a celebrated publication* on this subject, *Belle Lettres* may be generally divided into three great departments—grammar, rhetoric, and poetry.

“By grammar, I mean not the prosody of a verse, or the resolution of a sentence, but an extensive science, which considers the metaphysical properties and the mechanical formation of language; a science whose object is the theory of speech, which describes it as general or particular, investigates its origin, deduces its history and progress, and delineates its structure, in all the variety of forms it has assumed in the different regions of the

* Lectures on Rhetoric and *Belle Lettres* by Dr. Blair, of the University of Edinburgh.

globe. It is the doctrine of signs, and its importance and extent is evident from this, that it divides with logic one third part of that immense field of speculation in which the understanding is conversant.

“ The provinces of this extensive empire are many and various. Amidst so boundless a variety, objects may be found suited to the genius and capacity of every one ; the careless or the delinquent, the profound or the superficial inquirer, may here find employment for his indolence, activity, dullness or sagacity. Should he, for instance, confine his researches within the pale of one language, even this comparatively narrow field will supply him with a copious fund of pleasing information. He may examine its etymology, or review the various periods of its history. He may trace the various changes it has undergone to their respective causes, determine whether they have been produced by the lapse of time, the confusion of events, or by foreign colonization. He may set forth the variety of its dialects, for the specific, as well as generic difference in languages, point out the difference or resemblance between them, and survey them, accompanied with all their appendages of causes, contrast and consequence. Is the language of its poetry distinct from that of its prose, in what do they severally consist ? Compare its present state with any period past or future, and thereby discover whether it be yet in its progress towards perfection, or stationary, or in its decline. These inquiries when they are confined to our native tongue, are no less useful than amusing. I need not mention the respect paid to the study of their own language by the politest nations of antiquity. The writings of Quintillian and Tully, bear ample testimony to the fact. In modern times, no less attention has been paid to this favourite branch of study. Witness the societies instituted for that purpose in France, Italy, and Spain. Besides the local or provincial dialects of a language, another variety must also arise founded upon the difference in manners and education of those who speak it. This distinction can only take place in a living tongue ; in such, a certain elegance of phrase, as well as of manner, is the criterion of politeness. The dialect of the vulgar, differs as essentially from the mode of speaking among men of letters, as the style of the poet differs from that of the

philosopher. The structure of a language which has ceased to be spoken, is infinitely more uniform and regular than the diversified dialects, and even varied pronunciation of a living tongue. Written monuments are very imperfect vehicles of speech; they can indeed unfold the orthography of language with great strictness and accuracy; but experience will teach us, that orthography is a very uncertain guide to the true pronunciation of a tongue. A variety of dialects often proceeds from a difference of pronunciation, though the same orthography be adhered to; and differences imperceptible in spelling or arrangement, are rendered obvious and remarkable in the utterance. These I cannot but consider as strong motives, why attention should be paid to the study of our own language in preference to that of any other; I may therefore recommend it as a subject of useful and ingenious disquisition, nearly connected with the common experience of youth, and allowing always an immediate appeal to our own personal judgment and sagacity.

“Hitherto we have looked no farther than a single language, let us now extend our view to an assemblage of many. Subjects of inquiry will multiply upon us in proportion to the number of distinct idioms which are separately or relatively considered. Besides the consideration just mentioned, their genealogy, their comparative excellence, their mutual dependence and relations, are all departments in the immense edifice of grammar worthy of the nicest scrutiny.

“Knowledge may be considered emblematically as a vast temple; the avenues to which are guarded by the several languages in use among men. Languages may be valued in proportion as the avenues over which they preside are easy in their entrance, and expeditious in conducting the adventurer to the prize of which he is in quest. It may be worth inquiring, at which of these imaginary portals may we gain our purpose with most speed and convenience. Is there hitherto any thing neglected or unknown, which may furnish an easier passage to the foot of the altar of science. May we judge from the grace and beauty of the architecture, whether the gate which it adorns is preferable to another more rude or unembellished? Or (to speak without a metaphor) is not the information to be derived from the knowledge of an unknown tongue, always proportionate to the strength

and beauty of its idiom? Imagination revolts at the dialects of barbarians, the poverty or hardship of whose sounds suit not with the soft and refined utterance of a civilized people. But cannot reason find a treasure concealed beneath this rude and unfinished curtain, worth the labour of drawing it aside.

“ But let him still enlarge the circle of his studious observation ; let him step from particular to general grammar. Is there not any thing in this new region worthy his attention ? Will his reason be improved or his fancy gratified, while he occupies his talents with this new object ? The smooth and level path which he has hitherto traversed, was productive of little uneasiness ; but that in which he is now about to enter, presents nothing but a rugged prospect. Grammar thus abstractedly considered, lies within the bounds of pure metaphysics. The language of man is the intercourse of spirits ; it is not the feeble and involuntary respirations of pain and pleasure, but the perfect and pathetic picture of every fixed or transient emotion to which his mind is subject. By one happy faculty is man capable of giving form to spirit, and of rendering his soul visible to man. The pictures which words exhibit are even more perfect than those produced by the hands of nature. Things when they act by their own powers, act upon the mind according to laws pre-established by the Deity, in the inviolable observance of which consists the pledge of their existence. But when we would transmit our feelings to the minds of others by means of words, there is submitted to our choice an unlimited variety of modes of doing it. The treasury of language is literally inexhaustible : it will afford sufficient for the purposes of every one. Hence the study of the metaphysical properties of language has been ranked among the number of abstruser sciences. Into this recess, the careless or superficial inquirer must not presume to intrude ; it is sacred to philosophy and contemplation : he may wander in the maze of poetical expression, or ascend the summits of aspiring eloquence. He may fix the unstable edifice of language on a firmer basis, he may add grace and dignity to its present structure. These are employments suited to his capacity, they demand not the toil of a vigorous intellect, but yield to the feeble and remitted efforts of imagination.

“But I have too long imposed upon the patience of my hearers; this subject is extremely diffuse, and though I profess to consider it in a very contracted point of view, it will furnish matter for many future essays. Style and composition with the propriety of the mode adopted to accelerate our improvement therein, will come next under our observation. Eloquence will then be considered not as the object of senseless applause, or the topic of empty declamation; but as a necessary ingredient in the composition of those characters we are about to assume, to a certain degree of which this society will furnish the means, and every member may improve the opportunity of attaining. With some reflections upon the circumstances which constitute the peculiar excellence of this institution, we shall finish a picture possessing the requisite boldness and dignity in the design, however lame or imperfect in the execution.”

It would be improper as we have commented so largely on this society, to pass by the other one in silence. In one instance Charles reported the debates at full length, and were it not mingled with matters of a personal and confidential nature, it would be desirable to give publicity to this record. This would however lead us astray from biography, and involve us in collateral matters foreign from our present purpose. To give the reader some conception of the success which Charles made in his legal studies, notwithstanding the perplexing variety of his other avocations, we will extract the following decisions, which he made in the character of judge.

CASE I.

“The case upon which our decision is expected, is as follows : A. advertises a reward for the recovery of goods lost : B. finds them ; can B. retain those goods, until the reward is paid ? On the one hand it is insisted that the finder may detain the goods until he shall receive the reward. On the other hand it is maintained that by so doing, the finder becomes liable to an action of trover and conversion. This is a question on which I cannot give my opinion without much doubt and hesitation. The case indeed very frequently occurs to common experience ; but I have

not discovered that it has ever underwent a judicial examination in the courts of law : and I cannot help thinking that the authorities cited to support the opinions respectively advanced, are connected with our present subject by a distant and imperfect analogy, rather than by direct implication ; that they are calculated to puzzle and confuse, rather than to aid and confirm the judgment.

“ That the finder is justified in detaining the goods until he receives the reward for finding them, is an opinion supported by natural equity, if not by positive law, and extremely agreeable to the common sense of mankind, who will always prefer the security for the owner’s compliance with the contract in their own hands, to the dilatory and uncertain remedy of the law ; which the mean and interested have in their power to make no remedy at all. The finder may be intimidated by the threats of the owner, or the consciousness of his inability to hold them, against what he supposes to be the law ; he will deliver them up on demand, but by so doing he will justly incur the censure of egregious folly, from those who are likely ever to be in the same predicament. On every subject of dispute where the natural equity of the thing is in question, the common and uniform sentiment of mankind is a standard less liable to confusion and uncertainty than any other. I need not remark that every man in the situation of B. the finder of these goods, would act in the manner supposed in the present case, and think himself justified in so doing by every principle of reason and natural equity. In this persuasion as an individual I would very fairly acquiesce : and the singularity of this case with respect to those hitherto controverted in the courts of law, would I presume justify a similar decision in the quality of judge. Besides adjudged cases, the advocates for this opinion, that the owner is entitled to an action of trover, I have had recourse to the descriptions given of this action in the books of law ;* these declare in the most explicit terms, that this action lies against him who has the goods of another in possession, and converts them to his own use. Now as it is not the trover that is the means by which the defendant came into possession, but the subsequent conver-

* 3d Black. 152. Wood’s Insti. 539. Bac. Ab. tit. trover, &c.

sion that constitute the injury for which the remedy is given ; it is clear that sufficient evidence must be brought to prove such conversion in the defendant, or the plaintiff's action is lost. But it is said, a demand made, and a subsequent refusal, is sufficient evidence of a conversion. This case supposes a demand made and a subsequent refusal ; what hinders then that the owner should have his action against the finder.

“ I am of opinion that the demand and refusal here made, are not sufficient evidence of a conversion : it is indeed a doctrine generally held, that demand and refusal are sufficient evidence of conversion. But it is by no means the intention of the law, that this rule should prevail in all cases indiscriminately. In the same page wherein Sir William Blackstone tells us that the law will deem the finder's refusal as a conversion : he also tells us, that to support the action a conversion must be fully proved. How many circumstances might the dullest fancy suggest, sufficient to justify a refusal, notwithstanding the demand of the owner. It is expressly said,* that though a demand and a denial may be evidence of a conversion, yet that of itself it is not a conversion. Indeed in those cases where the doctrine is laid down in the most positive and unlimited manner, we may assent to the justice of the reasoning upon which it is founded ; and at the same time consider it as totally unapplicable to the present case. A rule designed to be general and to comprehend a great variety of cases, cannot be applied in its full extent to every particular subject. That the reasonings in 1 Viner. Abr. 241, where this subject is discussed pretty largely, were intended to be confined to such cases wherein the refusal of the finder is evidently suggested by sinister views, appears both from a case which precedes it in the same page, and from the words subjoined to the case itself, viz. but if it be found specially, it shall not be adjudged a conversion. The meaning of which I apprehend is this ; that where certain circumstances appear of a palliating nature, and which tend to show that the detention of the goods proceeded from innocent, though perhaps mistaken notions of right ; in short whenever it appears that the defendant's intention was not to convert those, a conversion shall

* 1 Viner. Abr. 24

not be presumed. The opinion of Holt, Chief Justice, in 2 Salk. 654, p. 2, is express, that persons saving goods which had been cast away, might detain them until paid for their pains.

“ I am therefore clearly of opinion, that an action of trover and conversion will not lie against the finder of these goods. Of an action of detinue, though now generally disused, the owner may perhaps avail, as the injury alleged to be done to the plaintiff consists in the detaining, and not the original taking ; although the conformity of the present case to the description of detinue to be found in Blackstone may very well be doubted, since it is not the mere detainure which entitles the plaintiff to this remedy. But at all events, I consider the public notification of the owner's intention to reward the finder of his goods, as an express assumpsit, by which the finder is entitled to an action on the case.”

CASE 2.

“ A woman upon the supposition of her husband's death, acts, in the capacity of a single woman ; purchases lands in her own name, devises them and dies ; after whose death the husband contrary to expectation, proves to be still living, and returns. The question naturally arising upon these points is, whether the devise, and of consequence all other acts committed during her supposed widowhood, are good in law. A question, our decision upon which must be founded either upon statute or precedent, cannot but be productive of much doubt and uncertainty, when it is found deficient in both these respects. The statute of wills, where the persons disabled to devise are enumerated, is as follows : and it is further declared and enacted by law that wills and testaments made of any man's lands, &c. by any woman covert, or person within the age of twenty-one years, idiot, &c. shall not be taken to be good, and effectual in the law.” This statute wherein the disability of the woman to make a devise, is particularly laid down, will appear less satisfactory when we consider that the very implication our natural reason would prompt us to make upon the words of the statutes, will savour of rashness, unless sanctioned by indisputable authority. That such indispensable authority is wanting, I may very safely affirm. The conduct of the gentlemen respectively upon this question

sufficiently evince it; neither party having produced any adjudged case, wherein a woman in those particular circumstances is positively declared to be, or not to be within the meaning of the statute. On the one side the gentlemen have chosen to adhere principally to the precise letter of the statute, and have attempted to prove from a variety of arguments, the impropriety of indulging fanciful conjecture on the plainest cases, and of framing narrow constructions upon words whose meaning are general and obvious. On the other side the reason of the thing has been principally called in question, and the liberty of framing constructions which accord rather with reason than with law, been strenuously supported. All our reasonings upon this subject must be ultimately founded upon the statute: but in the application of the general rules there laid down to particular cases, a judgment must be directed by certain laws of construction, universally laid down and established. If his decision be made conformably to these rules, it matters not whether his interpretations be sanctioned or not by positive authority; if his opinion be drawn from any topic of construction allowed by the law, it is of no consequence that this topic has never been employed by a predecessor in office for the same purpose. "A court of law, says Sir William Blackstone, as well as a court of equity, determines according to the spirit of the rule, and not according to the strictness of the letter." Both for instance are equally bound, and equally profess to interpret statutes according to the true intent of the legislature. If this liberty of interpretation might therefore be allowed us on this occasion, I should not hesitate to pronounce this case out of the equity, though within the words of the act. But we have been repeatedly told that the words of the statute should have their full and unlimited effect in every case not hitherto excepted by the courts. Those who have held forth this opinion with so much vehemence, do not reflect that in so doing they call in question the legality of those very exceptions: since those however agreeable to the true sense, and sound interpretation of the rule, had not the sanction of any prior determination. I am well aware also, that the natural injustice of a decision in the negative, has been as confidently asserted, as its supposed legal impropriety. But notwithstanding such assertions, the dangerous consequences of a contrary determination

to the security of private property, and the rights of individuals, appear to me in the strongest light ; and must appear to every rational and unprejudiced inquirer.

“ But this it is not my design to prove ; to most I trust it is already evident. It is sufficient that I have shown the propriety of acting independent of any precise authority ; or even in contradiction to it, when authorised by the known and established rules of construction. By these rules therefore, as far as I have been able to discover the intentions of the legislature in making this act, I am clearly of opinion that they did not intend to include a woman in those particular circumstances, within the general rule. I am also of opinion that among those cases wherein a married woman has been declared to be without the meaning of the statute, and adjudged by the particular exceptions to this rule, otherwise general, none can be found altogether similar to the case under consideration.”

CASE 3.

“ A merchant in England consigns goods to a merchant in America, he afterwards draws bills of exchange which are endorsed by a third person, he then becomes bankrupt. But prior to his bankruptcy he assigns the goods in America to another in England : the goods in America are attached by the endorser, as the property of the drawer. We are to pronounce upon the validity of the attachment.

“ I shall make no observations upon the propriety of the circumstances here alledged, what measure of probability they possess, or whether viewed in a real or fictitious light, any question can arise from them worthy of serious discussion. It is I own in general, incumbent upon those who decide to assign the reasons of their decision. But every general rule is liable to some exceptions. That the present case may reasonably be deemed an exception, is the firm persuasion of him whose duty it is to decide concerning it. If such is my opinion, it matters not what the sentiments of others may be. The peculiar right of decision in such cases is a privilege annexed to my station, which notwithstanding the endeavours of the selfish and opinionated, I will not suffer to be weakened by a formal appeal to the common sense of others ; I am content to wave the privilege

of my seat no otherwise than by abdicating the seat itself; and though in opposition to violence and clamour, I am tenacious of my right as judge, yet as a member I am content to yield to an opinion, which however unwarrantably urged, is avowed by a majority of my fellow members. Thus much I think it my duty publicly to declare, in order to ascertain the privilege annexed by law, as well as reason, to the office of judge of this society; and by explaining the reason, why I have dispensed with my privilege on this occasion, thereby to remove the danger of its growing into a precedent. For I am well aware that had I not made this public declaration, length of time and the confusion of events would have rendered my conduct in this particular, an indisputable evidence of what is or is not a privilege: but I even blame myself for the sacrifice I have already made, and as long as I have the honour to preside in this chair, will be cautious again of furnishing the like pernicious example to a predecessor, of sacrificing the dignity of his office to the unwarrantable views of a factious and imperious member. Party and division in this society shall in future meet with my discouragement, and I will no longer countenance the exertions of one who is perpetually usurping an undue authority over those who are his equals by membership, as well as those whom their station has for a time rendered his superiors. If the question is void of doubt or barren of argument with respect to the advocates, it is certainly so with respect to the judge. With the same ease and facility therefore, with which the case before us was argued, I determine that the attachment cannot be maintained."

CASE 4.

Is falsehood necessary to constitute a libel against the chief magistrate of a state? The rules of law, in whatever upon examination they may be found to consist, will not apply with entire certainty and precision to this question; unless it were first determined whether the libeller be prosecuted by way of indictment or information at the suit of the commonwealth, or merely in a civil action. The station or dignity of either the offended or offending party, does not necessarily determine the mode in which his offence becomes cognizable by the courts of justice. The libeller has committed a double injury. He has opened the nar-

rative, and endangered the reputation of a private citizen, and hazarded a violation of the public peace. In the first place, the plaintiff shall receive a recompense in damages, if the charge brought against him be false; but if the defendant be able to support his assertions by matter of fact, if the libel contain nothing but what is strictly agreeable to truth, he may indeed have incurred, "*damnum*," but this "*damnum absque injuria*" for which he is not entitled to any action. In the second place he is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is thereupon liable to the more solemn process of indictment. He is in some measure looked upon in the light of a criminal, and in this character will not be permitted to justify, but only to deny the fact. His detestable malice in uttering a falsehood, or his bold integrity in publishing the truth, will certainly in all cases colour his offence with a greater or less degree of enormity. But the malice and falsehood of an unprovoked attack upon the character of a fellow citizen, may prompt the dispenser of justice to severer vengeance; and excite him to denounce an heavier and more adequate punishment against the offender; yet the truth or justice of his animadversions, or a universal assent to their propriety will not heal the wound, which the peace and good order of society have thereby received. My opinion is founded upon several undeniable authorities, 5 report, 125, Moor 627: 11 Modern 99-4: Black. Commen. 150. Some of these cases are posterior in point of time to others, but they are all equally decisive. An objection has been made, that these are the decrees of the court of Star Chamber. This objection if in reality it possess any weight, can affect only a few of these, and can by no means invalidate the whole. It may however be necessary to remark that the court of Star Chamber was a court of record of high antiquity, and long duration. That the justice or validity of its proceedings were not called in question, nor even suspected, until a long period had elapsed after this determination was made; even then the enormities of which it was guilty respected rather the imposition of penalties, and the rigour of punishment, than the interpretation of the laws. In proportion as it drew nearer the period of its dissolution, its edicts became excessively harsh and severe. Instead of watching over the liberties of the people, and guarding carefully against the encroachments of the king, it became

the champion of the royal prerogative, and the most audacious asserter of the antiquated rights of the crown. No wonder then that its minister became arbitrary and tyrannical, and its exactions intolerable to the people. But this decision was the fruit of earlier times, and of a milder policy. It is exactly consonant to law and to equity ; but independent of this and of every other consideration, it is sufficient evidence of its authority, that it was recorded by lord Hobart and Sir Edward Coke, and has since been quoted and confirmed by Sir William Blackstone.

“ Its contradiction to the principles of equity and the maxims of a liberal policy, are equally ill-founded and unreasonable. An idea of necessity must ever mingle with any rational conception we entertain of justice ; for by this will many circumstances be justified in the administration of laws, whether of human or divine original, otherwise irreconcilable to the common standard of equity which every man believes himself entitled to erect in his own imagination. The liberty of upbraiding another with his crimes, and of exposing him to the ridicule and detestation of his fellow citizens, is always considered as imposing a powerful restraint upon his vicious inclinations. That the unlimited use of a remedy so fatal to the interests of vice, so simple and efficacious in preventing the growth of corruption or checking its contagious progress, in circumscribing the views, and defeating the pernicious efforts of a restless and depraved ambition, should be prohibited by public authority, will undoubtedly excite the surprise and undissembled indignation of the honest but ill informed mind. But as soon as he extends his views beyond the evil and convenience of a single individual, and surveys the enlarged prospect of the whole community, with its separate company of rights, necessities and evils ; when he withdraws his eye from the contemplation of the present and imperfect advantage, and pierces into future and more remote contingencies, he will quietly suppress his murmurs and rejoicing in himself, acknowledge the admirable wisdom of the law in thus securing the bonds of government, the harmony of society, from the baneful influence of secret malignity and open revenge.”

This mimic practice of the law either as pleader or judge, was the only practice of the science which Charles was doomed to undertake. As the time approached which rendered it necessary for him to pass from the office of his master to one of his own, to consider real instead of fictitious cases, and mingle in real debate as the champion of the really oppressed, the mind of Brown shrunk from the scenes he saw preparing for him, and conceived an antipathy to the profession which he had voluntarily chosen, which neither the persuasions and arguments of his friends, nor his own sense of duty were sufficient to overcome.

Of the numbers who are educated for the profession of the law very many in this country turn aside to some other pursuit, which appears to them more profitable or less arduous. Many who have dissipated that time in idleness or licentious pleasures which should have been devoted to study, shrink from the practice of their intended profession from a consciousness of ignorance, and a reluctance to encounter the laborious application known to be necessary. But none of these causes for relinquishing a chosen profession will apply to Charles Brockden Brown. The acquisition of wealth by another pursuit was not his inducement. Riches were not objects of desire with him at this period of his life, and by relinquishing his prospects of emolument from his profession, he threw himself as a helpless dependant upon his relatives. The fear of encountering arduous study did not deter him. The labour of thought and investigation, or of the application of the pen, had no terrors for him. Every species of riotous or licentious pleasure was his abhorrence. For the cause of that bitter regret and disappointment which he inflicted upon his family, we must look to some other source ; and in the rhapsodist already quoted, we find it. He had formed a world of his own in which he delighted to dwell, and with whose inhabitants he was habituated to commune to the exclusion of the dull or sordid beings of real life. The conversation which he heard passing among his fellow beings relative to those objects which constituted the sources of their joys and sorrows, appeared "frivolous chat," or, as doubtless it often was, the offspring of folly, ignorance, and cupidity. Society was to him solitude, and in solitude he

found delightful converse. It was this shrinking from society ; this solitude ; this wrong estimate of the views, motives and characters of mankind, which wrought so powerfully upon the mind of Brown, as to make him turn aside from the obvious path which led to competence, honour and self-approbation.

Charles on this occasion persuaded himself that he acted rightly, or he would not so have acted. Yet this conviction being grounded on error, like all erroneous opinions, was subject to doubts and misgivings, which preyed upon his happiness and undermined his health. He had three brothers older than himself, all actively engaged in the pursuit of happiness and fortune according to the usual fashion of the world ; of these, and of his aged parents, Charles was the distinguished favourite ; he was justly looked upon as the most highly gifted member of the family, and as destined for their happiness and honour ; his abandonment of the path chosen for him, was to them a serious disappointment and affliction, and this to Charles, who loved them with the purest fraternal and filial affection, was a cause of sorrow and unutterable regret.

To support himself against the persuasions and arguments of his friends, and against the suggestions of his own better judgment, he resorted to all the sophisms and paradoxes with which ignorance and ingenious prejudice had assailed the science or the practice of the law. He professed that he could not reconcile it with his ideas of morality to become indiscriminately the defender of right or wrong ; thereby intimating, if not asserting, that a man must, in the practice of the law, not only deviate from morality, but become the champion of injustice. He would demand, what must be the feelings of a lawyer if he had become an auxiliary in the cause of wrong and rapine ? If the widow and the orphan were thus by a legal robbery deprived of their just and righteous claims through the superior artifice or eloquence of the advocate, was he not as criminal as the man who committed such felony without the sanction of a court of justice, and for which the same court would pronounce the severest punishment ? He endeavoured to persuade himself

and his hearers, that unless a lawyer could reconcile his mind to the practice of all this iniquity, there was little prospect of his succeeding in his profession, and of course that the acquisition of fame and fortune were only to be considered as proofs of the wrongs done, and the miseries inflicted upon his fellow men.

The friends of Brown did not easily relinquish the object of their wishes, or cease to urge arguments founded in truth, with all the eloquence of thorough conviction. They represented to him that men of irreproachable characters, who stood in the front ranks of honour, had acquired all their celebrity at the bar. His answer was, that the opinion of the world was always equivocal, sometimes suspicious, and often beyond all question wrong. The favourable regards of the world were conferred indiscriminately on virtue or vice, innocence or guilt, as all history evinces. Would this, or did it ever in a single solitary instance counterbalance the remorse of their own consciences when such good opinions were paid for services which they never did, or to merit which they had no pretensions? Was it not rather the severest of all satires, when we were applauded for virtues which we never possessed, and as unjust as it would be to violate a neighbour's property and to claim it as our own? Did not the evil extend even further than this, and was it not productive of more moral injury by appropriating the rewards of virtue, the good opinion of the world, to vice, and thus make a common property of what ought to belong exclusively to one, and confound all distinctions between right and wrong? In the present case he denied the validity of the evidence produced, and contended that whether these men were justly entitled to such celebrity could only be known by themselves. Their motives to conceal their real characters from the world were obvious and palpable, and if they were monopolizers of the fame of better and more deserving men, this was of itself an argument why he should not add another name to their list. The universality of such an evil might be a consideration to reform such abuses by stronger and more incessant exertions; but was clearly none why it should be ren-

dered more diffusive, inveterate, and consequently more alarming by his individual participation in the guilt.

These erroneous opinions which governed Charles in this important decision, he had good cause to renounce when too late for the change to remedy the evil. I shall have to record his intimate knowledge of men who in the practice of the law have invariably practised the biddings of justice and of honour, one of whom was among the most valued, tried and best known of his friends.

His opinions respecting the practice of the law at a subsequent period, may be known by the following extract from a letter written in answer to one from a student who was impatient to be admitted to the bar.

“Your letter has indeed a very singular appearance, and I congratulate myself more than ever on the enjoyment of your friendship! What! Is all this wisdom from a youth? Whose passions are impetuous? Who has been exposed to all the seductions of pleasures, with no other security than his own prudence and reflection? And is his conduct agreeable to those maxims? Justly then may he indulge the impulse of virtuous ambition, and please himself with the prospect of affluence and honours. Go on, amiable and ingenious youth, and mayest thou speedily attain what thou so laudably aspirest after—the fair fame of integrity and the peace of virtue. These are purposes that are truly worthy of a rational being; purposes that are almost peculiar to thyself, which few men of whatever age make the object of their wishes, or prosecute with equal steadiness and diligence, and which is still more rarely to be found in the mind of those of the same age.

“May the hour in which you expect to be admitted speedily arrive. Impatience is certainly unnecessary: that there are many things beside a knowledge of law requisite to form an advocate, is very obvious, and though your legal knowledge may qualify you long before April for admission, yet, my friend, there are other accomplishments which, whatever should be your diligence or resolution, you will scarcely have attained in the seventh

April after the next. But if legal knowledge were the only requisite, yet your impatience is unreasonable, since while their remains any thing to be known, you cannot be esteemed perfect; since it is impossible for you to know too much, and since after twenty or thirty years study there will still be a legal something of which you are ignorant.

“It is true that success in all the learned professions is too frequently the consequence of accident, and that men are not always rewarded exactly agreeably to their merits; but there are particular exceptions, and as a general observation it is undoubtedly true, that men of all professions, and particularly lawyers, are successful in proportion to their skill.

“I need not tell you what, in my opinion, are the necessary accomplishments of a lawyer. Our sentiments, I believe, are somewhat different on this subject, but, however few and simple they may be, I cannot but still discover the necessity of time and patience, diligence, and the unreasonableness of your impatience for admission. Whatever be the qualifications of an accomplished lawyer, yet there are different degrees of excellence in them. This undoubtedly is his employment, to think, to write, and to speak. The certainty and facility with which he shall answer questions that come before him, will unquestionably depend on the degree of knowledge which he has acquired, and of the sagacity which he possesses. Study and reflection are the sources of legal knowledge, as of every other kind, and these sources are inexhaustible. From these fountains, therefore, whatever we possess must be drawn. But we cannot draw too much, and every possible accession to our store, must be not only not useless, but highly advantageous to us, whether we be eager for wealth or for reputation.

“As a writer, both his style and his penmanship are improvable by practice. How far the qualities of style are entitled to his attention, may perhaps be a question; but that he has numerous occasions for the exercise of penmanship is indisputable; and that it is highly his interest to become master of an expeditious mode of writing. A lawyer, whether at court or in his own closet, has perpetual use for his pen; and is it necessary to ex-

patiate on the advantages of writing with as much rapidity as any man can articulate? or can you doubt either that you have not attained this, or that it is attainable.

“With respect to speech, it may not be incumbent on my friend to make himself an orator in the genuine sense. The talents of Cicero could not, perhaps, with propriety be displayed in their full extent in any American court; but what is more necessary or desirable than to deliver one’s self with fluency and correctness? There are no ears to whom the utmost degree of accuracy of reasoning and language is unsuitable, which cannot relish the utmost degree of perspicuity both of expression and of argument. But have you already attained these qualifications? In short, can you on all occasions, conceive and express clearly, forcibly, and gracefully, to which I may add, rapidly? These are attainments within your power. The end is not unworthy of the means. The more you acquire before admission to the bar, the less will be to be acquired after. So far are any of your pursuits, merely as a lawyer, obstructed by the delay of your admission, that it will in reality be favourable to them. There is a goal which you are desirous of reaching, and between which and yourself there is an ample space. Now if your strength is at all times equal, if whenever you begin this career, exactly the same space of time will be required to finish it, it is doubtless, proper to begin as soon as possible, because the sooner you begin the sooner you will end; but if by delaying to begin for a reasonable time (two, three, or four years) you do not set the goal at a greater distance; if supposing you should begin now, you would reach it in seven years; yet that, if you should delay your enterprize for two years, and begin then, your strength and vigour would be augmented in the interval, so as to enable you to reach it as soon as another who began at this time, would not the delay be rather advantageous than otherwise? At least is the advantage greater on one side than on the other? And are not these your circumstances my dear W.? The longer you delay your admission will you not be better qualified for practice? I have heard a gentleman observe that were he a student of law, he would not begin to prac-

tice till he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. But, my friend, perhaps your domestic circumstances would not suffer you to delay your admission so long, and I am sure that your present attainments would not justify so long a delay. You are very young, and though it would perhaps be impossible, or if possible, by no means necessary to continue a student for seven or eight years longer, yet to preserve that character for one or two years more would neither be impossible, or improper. However you should think proper to determine, were it in your power to hasten or procrastinate your admission, yet these considerations ought at least to make you patient under unavoidable delays."

One of the earliest friends of Charles Brockden Brown was a young man of singular beauty and animation, combined with talents and wit of a most extraordinary and fascinating quality. The writer became acquainted with him through the introduction of Brown, and never has ceased to regret his premature death. The characters of Brown and W. were in most points essentially different, but composed of such contrarieties as never came into serious and repulsive collision. In depth and extent of inquiry, various and accurate knowledge, even on those points with which W. himself was most familiar, Brown was pre-eminent. W. had a ready, persuasive and fascinating eloquence always at command; a fancy prompt and vigorous, with a wit which delighted even those at whose expense it was exerted. Such talents rendered him a valuable acquisition to the law society, for he too was a student preparing for the bar. If too careless or indolent to investigate his subject, he was ever able to adorn it, and was heard with delight if not with conviction. Possessing a warm and susceptible heart, he early attached himself to Charles, and an acquaintance formed in the first instance by the casual meetings of the society, soon consolidated into a permanent friendship; a friendship which in fact existed until the death of W. When W. was present they were almost inseparable companions; when absent they punctually corresponded. Amidst these testimonies of affec-

tion, some may be selected characteristic. In one of these Charles remarks, that the most perfect and refined misery is the price at which we buy just conceptions of propriety and duty, by acting in opposition to them. The miseries of vice and the blessedness of well doing, are attestations equally strong of the value and dignity of virtue, but the sense of this persuasion is proportioned to the extent of those opposite consequences. Actions he continues are not the just criterion of sentiments. He proceeds to set before his correspondent the pleasures derived from the indulgence of virtuous love, a smiling family, and all the tender delights of honourable intercourse, the acquisition of riches and honours. He goes on to assert that his friend will hereafter realize the scene which his fancy is painting now ; that he himself is only acting the character of the prophet, and dwells with peculiar delight in the indulgence of the visions, which fact and not fancy discloses. The elegance of this reproof will be better understood, if we resort to the character of W. as it was drawn by Charles himself after the death of that gentleman.

“ I am led to these remarks, he continues, by reading over the letters of my deceased friend W. What a contrast between his actual deportment, and any notion of that deportment to be collected by a stranger from his letters. His letters to me are as confidential as letters can be, yet they form a picture totally the reverse of his conversation and his conduct. He had no small portion of wit, and this power was in part exercised in company ; but the moment he took up his pen to write a letter or an essay, he forgot all his mirth, became pensive, sentimental and poetical. To hear him talk one would think that he never had a serious moment in his life. He literally sung himself to sleep, and awakened in a burst of laughter. To see the effusions of his pen, one would imagine that he was a stranger to smiles, that he was forever steeped in tears and wrapped in melancholy. In this there was nothing that deserved to be called affectation and hypocrisy, since he corresponded only with those with whom he was occasionally in the habit of conversing ;

and his tongue regaled them with unceasing jests, with just as much sincerity as his pen saddened them with its austerity, or melted them with its pathos. *His sonnets and letters talk almost altogether of love, and on this topic no Petrarch was ever more tender, refined and pathetic. The youth was forever in love, and was all impassioned eloquence at the feet of an adored fair one; but his love was merely the exuberance of health, and an ardent constitution. Consequently his love was always bestowed upon the present object, and never stood in the way of the most licentious indulgences.* After receiving a letter, full of the most doleful eulogies of some divine but refractory creature, and hinting his resolution to shake off the yoke of his inauspicious stars, I have hastened to his chamber to console him, and found him at a table presiding with marks of infinite satisfaction, and keeping the worthy crew that surrounded him in a constant roar. Such was my friend, and such were his letters. His tongue and his pen, his actions and his written speculations were as opposite to each other as the poles."

In one of the letters of Charles to W. may be found a sentiment of a very singular nature, as it shows his propensity to extract felicity from a subject which is commonly regarded as unfortunate. He had discovered by accident, that he was afflicted with a myopism, by having accidentally put on spectacles accommodated to such vision. He discovers that he possesses a vision superior to that of ordinary men. He had only to apply to his eyes, what Dr. Rush calls the aid of declining vision, and he is ushered into a new and beautiful creation. He observes that it is in his power to make the sun, the stars, and all surrounding creation sparkle upon his view with renovated lustre and beauty. Not satisfied with this, he goes on to compare his situation with the situation of those who had ever beheld the sun in all his majesty and effulgence. To him he was in all his glories, a stranger: he had never been *familiarly* acquainted with so glorious a personage.

On the other hand to those who had always revelled in the magnificence of nature, they had become satiated with his glo-

ry. Creation to them could unfold no new beauty ; a glance of the eye satisfied them, and it was a glory that palled upon the sense. To him all this was a territory unseen, and it seemed as if nature had veiled her radiance from his view, to the end that he might when he pleased, indulge himself in the enjoyment of her bounties. He was able to discern light enough to guide his footsteps, and to answer all the purposes of social intercourse ; all beyond this was novelty, was exquisite enjoyment. To those who were surrounded with more expanse of vision, all these blessings were denied. He therefore felicitated himself on the thought that he had not the optics of ordinary men.

It has been already remarked, that he inherited from nature a frail, delicate, and a sickly constitution ; a constitution which incapacitated him from athletic exercise. In another letter to one of his correspondents, he congratulates himself on this infirmity. He is by the benevolence of nature rendered in a manner an exile from many of the temptations that infest the minds of ardent youth. Possessing such a constitutional infirmity, he had nothing to apprehend from those enticements which usually sway the minds of young men. He had by nature been devoted to contemplation. Whatever his wishes might have been, his benevolent destiny had prevented him from running into the frivolities of youth. He ascribes to this cause his love of letters and his predominant anxiety to excel in whatever was a glorious subject of competition. Had he been furnished with the nerves and muscles of his comrades, it was very far from being impossible that he might have relinquished intellectual pleasures. Nature had benevolently rendered him incapable of encountering such severe trials.

From hence a question arose whether it was virtue in him to refrain from those pleasures for which he felt no appetite to indulge. He gravely dismisses the argument with his opinion that there was not. Far from repining, however, he earnestly prays that he may never be allowed a constitution sufficient to enable him to stand a trial so severe ; that if his virtue must be placed under the patronage of nature, he may never be de-

serted by his guardian ; that his constitutional imbecility may prevent his falling a victim to those temptations which he has not virtue enough to avoid.

That Charles was dissatisfied with his own conduct in relinquishing his profession, and that the disappointment of his friends, and their anxiety for his future welfare preyed upon his spirits, is by no means doubtful with me. I will here give two extracts from his letters which develope his character, and show the gloom of his mind in this early period of his life.

“As for me, I long ago discovered that nature had not qualified me for an actor on this stage. The nature of my education only added to these disqualifications, and I experienced all those deviations from the center, which arise when all our lessons are taken from books, and the scholar makes his own character the comment. A happy destiny indeed brought me to the knowledge of two or three minds which nature had fashioned in the same mould with my own, but these are gone. And, O God ! enable me to wait the moment when it is thy will that I should follow them.”

“What, my friend, art thou certainly awake ? Or is it that I am dreaming ? No, I believe you incapable of adulation : and yet there are some parts of your acceptable epistle, which are extremely supicious. But your motives do not only excuse, but justify you ; when a friend is sinking into a quicksand or struggling with a suffocating stream, there is nothing can betide him which is so dangerous as despair ; and one, who, though near at hand, is unable to afford him any personal assistance, cannot be more serviceable to him, than by cherishing his hopes, and keeping him from yielding to despair ; and if in the ardour of our exhortations, and the precipitancy of our zeal, we chance to deviate from rigid truth, and facilitate his escape, by invigorating his efforts with flattering representations of his power, and delusive promises of triumph, is it not more to be commended than censured ?

“ I have not been deficient in the pursuit of that necessary branch of knowledge ; the study of myself. I will not explain the result, for have I not already sufficiently endeavoured to make my friends unhappy by communications, which though they might easily be injurious, could not be of any possible advantage. I really, dear W. regret that period when your pity was first excited in my favour. I sincerely lament that I ever gave you reason to imagine that I was not so happy, as a gay indifference with regard to the present, stubborn forgetfulness with respect to the uneasy past, and excursions into light-some futurity could make me : for what end, what useful purposes were promoted by the discovery ? It could not take away from the number of the unhappy, but only add to it, by making those who loved me participate in my uneasiness, which each participation so far from tending to diminish, would in reality increase, by adding those regrets of which I had been the author in them, to my own original stock.

“ I have a brother, whom I am bound by innumerable ties to revere and love. I have not seen him except for a few days, these eight years. He has gained wisdom by experience, a bitter series of experiments ; but though there has subsisted no personal intercourse between us for so long a time, we have talked frequently and copiously to each other by the assistance of the pen. His letters are lessons, are lessons of prudence, and there are no maxims which he has so frequently inculcated, as that of covering from the eyes of others with an impenetrable mask, whatever fears or anxieties may agitate us.

“ This precept I have broken only with regard to you and B. The propriety of this rule, I have frequently experienced from the advantages resulting from adhering to it ; and may I not add that its propriety has also been evinced by the inconveniences which I have felt by deviating from it ? For no man ought to act, but in pursuance of some rational motive, and what useful purpose could be answered by making C. B. B. better known to his friends ? What but their unhappiness could be produced by it ?

“ Forget me, my friend, as soon as possible. At least, forget that any latent anguish or corroding sorrow, is concealed under that aspect of indifference which has become habitual. Why should I any longer talk to you of myself? Why should my letters be the busy and malicious witnesses of my faults and follies? You are too young to be my father confessor. I wonder you have not declared your disapprobation of the usual strain of my epistles. I smile (though it must be owned, with less gaiety than seriousness) at the foolish part which I have acted so long, unreasonably and unnecessarily imparting sorrow to those whom I must wish happy in proportion as I love them, and calling out for consolations, which I know to be impossible to be obtained.

“ For shame, thou idiot or thou madman! cease thy lamentable croakings. Reserve gloomy meditations and useless complaining for thy chamber, and show at least thy magnanimity by concealing that which thou canst not cure. Here drops the curtain. The catastrophe of the drama if acted openly, will only diffuse a melancholy gloom over the audience. All that remains shall be transacted in secret, and behind the scenes.

“ Had I never had friends and relations, I am convinced that before this time I had ceased either to exist, or to exist as an inhabitant of America. I know from experience the strength of that obstacle to the direful schemes of despair, which results from possessing friends who would be, at least for a time, inconsolably afflicted by the loss of the sufferer. It is indeed my interest perhaps to add to the number of my friends, because in proportion to their number, will be the obstacles to any rash design.

“ I have indeed sincerely lamented—I must lay down my pen till my thoughts flow in a less uneasy channel. Your letter has made me extremely serious. Why did you not comply with my request, and forbear to expatiate on this theme? but I flatter myself that you will pay more regard to it in future.

“ I expected that I should give you pleasure by the infor-

mation relating to your father; that good, worthy, hospitable man, whom I shall always remember with affection and respect both for his own sake, and that of his son. You cannot imagine how highly I am pleased with myself for my reasonable recollection of this interview, and my reasonable relation of it.

“It was my vanity, perhaps, that was pleased in your father’s approbation of the friends which his son had chosen: and yet may I not reasonably believe that my friendship was useful to him. Will any one be made worse, will his understanding be depraved, or his heart be corrupted, by associating with me? Will his love of learning and of virtue be impaired? I think not; for I am neither incorrigibly stupid, nor remorselessly wicked. I am a lover and admirer of all that is good and fair in the physical and moral universe. No one gazes at genius with more enthusiastic delight and admiration, or at virtue with greater love and reverence. No, I am determined to believe that W. might have chosen a more pernicious and unprofitable friend.

“This part of my letter will require no answer. I know not indeed why it was written. I indeed find as much reason to censure and despise myself, that I expatiate with more pleasure, and consequently at greater length, on any circumstance of self-applause. I seize any thing however weak and dubious, by which I can hope to raise myself from that profound abyss of ignominy and debasement, into which I am sunk by my own reflections. And that a man of so much experience and discernment as your father, approves in the choice of his son of me as a friend, is too pleasing an idea to be easily relinquished, and is a counterbalance for many anxieties.

“Do you read the books which you mention? Is your reading altogether legal? Surely such constant and invariable legality is not indispensably necessary. I indeed, am inclined to think that, so far from being necessary to adhere so strictly to the case, it is absolutely necessary sometimes to deviate from it; but it is likely that I am mistaken. If my own experience were to determine my opinion, I should rather think that he only can derive pleasure, and consequently improvement, from the study of the

law, who knows and wishes to know nothing else. As a student I believe you have always acted in the most prudent and reasonable manner, and a method (of which abstractedly considered) the propriety should appear dubious to me, would be sufficiently vindicated by your practice."

A friend who had read the letters and journals of Mr. Brown makes the following remarks. He taxed his correspondents always to make themselves the heroes of their own letters : nothing he said was productive of so much delight as to hear of their welfare, to share their joys, and their sorrows. On the other hand in his own letters he sedulously avoided the mention of himself, on the ground that he had nothing personally to communicate, which would give his correspondents pleasure ; and his native delicacy forbade him to excite unnecessary pain. His correspondence therefore with his most intimate friends, wears a curious cast. On their side is the utmost frankness in the disclosure of all the little circumstances affording them delight ; on his part he joins in their joy, and revels in their intellectual hilarity ; presents these circumstances again in a more fascinating shape, and makes his page the depository of all the benevolent sympathies in which he so munificently indulges. We should be led to suppose him entirely happy ; that his heart was perfectly at ease. Now in requital for all this frankness and confidence, what is communicated on his part ? Literally nothing. When pressed on this subject, he declares that his own heart shall be the depository of its own gloomy sensations, and that when he cannot communicate pleasure, he will communicate nothing. He represents his afflictions beyond the power of friendship to redress ; and that it would be mean in him to excite sympathy so unavailing. Do I wish the friendship of such men, he would say, only to make myself a burthen to them ? Must not they themselves despise me if I thus abuse their confidence, and endeavour to load them with the miseries which my unhappy fate has destined me to endure ? Have I no other pleasures in friendship than what is derived from the miseries of my friends ? No, he would say, let me participate in all

their joys and sorrows, but let all my misfortunes be borne by myself. Thus does his private journal often furnish a most striking contrast to his familiar letters. By the former we discover his heart to be oppressed with gloom and dejection; while if we cast our eyes on a letter of the same date, we shall find him entering into all the gay and cheerful feelings of his friends, abandoning the contemplation of his own sorrows for a moment, to assist in the prolongation of their hilarity. His earliest character was formed on this romantic standard, nor did he ever renounce it afterwards. Not only in his epistolary, but in his personal intercourse with his friends he acted on this principle, and if at any time he departed from this resolution by accident, he severely censures himself in his journal; taxes himself with pusillanimity, and makes the most ardent protestations that he will endeavour to amend. As an instance of his inflexible perseverance, he was once at the house of a friend afflicted with a malady by which his life was put in the most imminent jeopardy. All the anxiety that he testified was, that he should become burthensome to his friends: a reflection which seemed to give him much more uneasiness than the pains with which he was afflicted.

Dissatisfied with himself, and with the most gloomy prospects of the future scenes destined for his lot in life, Charles, as if to avoid the presence of his disappointed friends, rambled from home without any apparently defined object. At New York he was introduced to the acquaintance of the writer, by Doctor Elihu Hubbard Smith.

E. H. Smith, was a native of Litchfield Connecticut, and only son of Doctor Reuben Smith, of that place. From his infancy attached to books, Elihu was at a very early period qualified to enter college, and was accordingly placed at Yale, then under the presidency of Doctor Styles. After passing through college with reputation, he was still a boy, and his father very judiciously placed him under the care and tuition of Doctor Dwight, now president of Yale College, then minister of Greenfield, Connecticut, and principal of an academy of high reputation in that village. After due preparation in medical studies

under his father, Elihu was sent to Philadelphia for the purpose of completing his education as a physician, and in that city became an associate of Brown's. Being qualified for practice, Doctor Smith fixed upon the city of New York for the place of his residence, and became the intimate associate and friend of the writer, so continuing until his death. To this inestimable young man I owed the friendship of Brown.

The first visit of Charles to New York was not of long duration, but he found himself so cordially adopted into a society so well suited to his taste and pursuits, that the visit was soon repeated, and for years succeeding, New York became almost the home of Brown. For several years it was my good fortune to have him as an inmate with my family, on these visits, sometimes at New York, and sometimes at Perth Amboy, but upon an establishment being formed in a commodious house in New York, by Doctor Smith and Wm. Johnson, esqr. Brown at their invitation joined them, and thenceforward only resided with me when my family was at Perth Amboy.

No two men were ever more sincerely attached to each other, than Charles Brockden Brown and Elihu Hubbard Smith, yet in many particulars no two men were ever more different. Both under the necessity of being economists, Brown acted as if he had no use for money; while Smith systematically calculated his resources, and contracted his wants rigidly within the reach of his means. Brown was without system in every thing; Smith did nothing but by rule, and was as strict an economist of his time as of his money. Brown was negligent of personal appearance, even to slovenliness, while Smith was in cleanliness, neatness and attention to the proprieties of dress, a perfect model, and seemed to make the purity of his person, and even of his clothing, an index of the purity of his mind. Brown was in mixed company often silent and absent; Smith entered readily into the views and conversation of those around him with the ease of a man of the world. Their long and intimate intercourse tended to assimilate them in some of these particulars, and in none more than in the necessary attention to personal appear-

ance and propriety of dress. They were both journalizers, or recorders of the passing events of their lives, their studies, their thoughts and their actions ; but in this as in other things, Brown was fitful and irregular, while Smith was uniform, diligent and orderly.

A great source of pleasure and improvement to Charles during his residence in New York was a literary society, formed before his first visit, which under the humble appellation of "the Friendly Club," continued for several years to meet weekly at the house of one or other of the members, discuss literary or other subjects, and part of the time in conducting a review. The members of this club were Wm. Johnson, esq. ; Doctor Edward Miller ; the Rev. Doctor Samuel Miller ; Doctor S. L. Mitchill ; James Kent, esq. Anthony Bleacher, esq. Doctor E. H. Smith ; Charles Adams, esq. John Wells, esq. W. W. Woolsey, esq. C. B. Brown, and the writer. With most of the members of the Friendly Club, Brown was in the habits of the strictest intimacy, and enjoyed their society unreservedly at other, as well as the stated times of periodical meeting.

In his journals, Brown frequently mentions the meetings of the club. On one occasion he has these words : " Last evening spent with the clubists at K.'s. Received from the candour of K. a severe castigation for the crimes of disputatiousness and dogmatism. Hope to profit by the lesson that he taught me."

His journals of this time are interspersed with plans and scraps of Eutopias, which are left in so unfinished a situation as to be unintelligible. In common with many ardent minds filled with a love of their fellow creatures, he sought for some plan by which to improve and secure human happiness. Many delightful visions floated in his imagination, and their traces will be perceived in the portions of his early writings now presented to the public ; but these schemes were none of them ever so arranged as to produce a complete or finished work.

Previous to my becoming acquainted with Brown, he had

visited Bethlehem and Nazareth, and rambled on foot over the adjacent country. He had likewise visited Connecticut, and made acquaintance with many of the friends of his beloved Elihu H. Smith. Of these journeys I have no memorials except scanty and unsatisfactory notices, which will be the more regretted by the reader, after perusing the following account of an excursion to Rockaway with two friends, written in the form of a letter, and first published in the *Literary Magazine*.

“DEAR R.

“What possible amusement can you expect from *my* recital of a jaunt to Rockaway? I cannot dignify trifles, or give to vulgar sights a novelty, by making them pass through my fancy. That fancy, you well know, has no particle of kindred to that of poet or painter, and nobody should pretend to describe, who does not look through the optics of either painter or poet. Besides, my ignorance circumscribes my curiosity. I have few objects of remembrance with which to compare the objects that I meet with. Hence, as the carriage whirls along, faces, fences, houses, barns, cultivated fields, pass rapidly across my eye, without leaving a vestige behind them. You will of course ask me, how the fields are inclosed? How they are planted? What portion is tilled? what is wood, and what is waste? Of what number, materials, dimensions, and form, are the dwellings, the granaries, the churches, the bridges, the carriages? What is the countenance, the dress, the deportment of the passengers, and so forth? through an endless catalogue of interrogatories.

“Now I cannot answer a word to all these questions. *Your* attention, on the contrary, during such a journey would be incessantly alive: you would take exact note of all these particulars, and draw from them a thousand inferences as to the nature of the soil, the state of agriculture, and the condition of the people. While your companions were beguiling the time by a map: by looking eagerly forward to the baiting place, and asking the driver now and then, how many miles he had to go to dinner, or cursing the dust, the heat, the

jolting, and the hard benches, or conversing with each other, all your senses, and your whole soul would be chained to passing objects. Not a stone would you meet with, but should instantly pass through your crucible ; not a tree or a post, but would serve as a clue to the knowledge of the soil, climate, and the industry of the island. You would count the passengers, take an inventory of their dress, mark their looks and their steps ; you would calculate the length, breadth, and height of all the buildings ; and compare every thing you saw, from the church to the pig-pen, and from the parson to the plough-boy, with all that you had seen elsewhere.

“Such is the traveller, my friend, that you would have made ; and you would have known more of Long-Island in a few hours, than many who have lived within sight of it these fifty years : I, alas ! am one of those whom fifty years of observation would leave in the same ignorance in which they found me.

“’Tis true, as you say, that such an unobservant wretch as I represent myself to be, may yet amuse by relating his own sensations, and his narrative, if it give no account of the scene of his journey, will, at least, comprise a picture of his own character. An accurate history of the thoughts and feelings of any man, for one hour, is more valuable to some minds, than a system of geography ; and you, you tell me, are one of those who would rather travel into the mind of a ploughman, than into the interior of Africa. I confess myself of your way of thinking ; but from very different motives. I must needs say I would rather consort forever with a ploughman, or even with an old Bergen market woman, than expose myself to an hundredth part of the perils which beset the heels of a Ledyard or a Parke.

“You see how ingeniously I put off this unpleasant task ; but since you will not let me off, I must begin. Remember, it is a picture of myself, and not of the island, that you want : and such, how disreputable soever it may be to the painter, you shall have. I have some comfort in thinking, that most of the travellers to Rockaway, are but little wiser and more inquisitive than myself.

“ In the first place, then, we left I.’s at one o’clock. The day was extremely fine, and promised a most pleasant ride. You may suppose that we were most agreeably occupied in the prospect of a journey which neither of the three had ever made before : but no such thing. We thought and talked of nothing but the uncertainty of getting seats in the stage, which goes at that hour from Brooklynn, and the reasonable apprehension of being miserably crowded, even if we could get seats. Such is my aversion to being wedged with ten or twelve in a stage coach, that I had previously resolved to return, in case of any such misfortune. So I told my friends, but in this I fibbed a little, for the naked truth was, that I wanted a pretext for staying behind ; having left society in New York, the loss of which all the pleasures of Rockaway would poorly compensate.

“ We passed the river, and after dining at the inn, were seated in the coach much more at our ease than we had any reason to expect. We rode through a country altogether new to me, twelve or fourteen miles (I forgot which) to Jamaica. Shall I give you a peep into my thoughts ? I am half ashamed to admit you, but I will deal sincerely with you. Still, say I, my consolation is, that few travellers, if their minds were laid as completely open to inspection, would come off from their trial with more credit than myself.

“ I confess to you then that my mind was much more busily engaged in reflecting on the possible consequences of coming off without several changes of clothes in my handkerchief, and without an umbrella to shelter me from sunshine and rain, than with the fields and woods which I passed through. My umbrella I had the ill luck to break as we crossed the river, and as to clothes, I had the folly, as usual, to forget that Rockaway was a place of fashionable resort, and that many accidents might happen to prolong our stay there four or five days, instead of a single day ; and yet think not that I was totally insensible to passing objects. The sweet pure country air, which was brisk, cool and fresh enough to make supportable the noon-tide rays of a July sun, to the whole force of which my seat beside the driver exposed me, I inhaled with delight. I remember little,

however, but a country, pretty much *denuded of its woods*, (as Sam. Johnson would say) a sandy soil; stubble fields, houses fifty years old, a couple of miles from each other, and most of them, especially those furthest on the road, exact counterparts of such as we see in Dutch and Flemish landscapes; four-wheeled rustic carriages, of a most disproportioned length, crazy and uncouth, without springs, entered from behind, and loaded with women and children, pigs and chickens; not a single carriage of elegance or pleasure to be met with, though overtaken by half a dozen gigs, going to the same place with ourselves.

“We reached Jamaica at five o’clock, and here we staid one hour. A glass of lemonade, a plentiful ablution in cold water, and a walk with B. in a church-yard opposite the inn, were all the surprising events which distinguished this hour. This island is one of the oldest of European settlements in North America, and we therefore expected to find in this church-yard some memorial of ancient days, but we were disappointed. There were many grave-stones, broken or half sunken, or blackened by age, but the oldest date was within forty years. The church, though painted anew and furbished up lately, was about seventy years old, as an inscription on the front informed us. There was another of a much more antique cast within view, but we did not approach it.

“I hope you will be sparing of your questions respecting Jamaica, for I can answer none of them. I asked not a single question statistical or topographical of our hostess. I did not count the houses, and therefore can form no notion of the population. It is a spacious, well-looking village, many of whose houses appear to be built as summer retreats for wealthy citizens, and that is all I can say of it.

“During our second stage, I was placed much more at my ease than during the first. I was seated beside a pretty little girl, whom all the company took care to inform, that they thought her pretty. For my part, her attractions made little impression on my fancy. To be infirmly delicate in form, to have a baby-like innocence of aspect, and a voice so very soft that it can

scarcely be heard, are no recommendations to me. She prattled a good deal about a squirrel and canary-bird which she had at home, and that respectful attention was paid to a pair of very sweet *lips*, which the *words* that fell from them would never have obtained. The rest of our company were men, and I have not wit enough to extract any oddity or singularity from their conversation or appearance. Two of them, you know, were my companions, and the other two cheerful and well-bred strangers.

"I, for the most part, was mute, as I usually am, in a stage-coach and among strangers. Not so my two friends. B. finds a topic of talk and good humour in every thing, and J's amenity is always ready to pursue the other's lead. I forget all their topics, except a very earnest discussion of the merits of different lodging-houses, at the sea side, and many sympathetic effusions, drawn forth by the *shipwreck* of another coach. On the first head we concluded to go to the house nearest the sea, one Ben Cornwall's, our purpose being as much to gratify the eye as the touch, and there we accordingly arrived, pretty late on a chill, moist and cloudy evening.

"There are few men who are always masters of their spirits, and mine, which had not been high through the day, fell suddenly some degrees lower, on stepping out of the carriage into the piazza of the house. This place appeared, at the first glance, to want at the same time the comforts and seclusion of a private house, and the order and plenty of a public one. The scene without was extremely dreary, and the vicinity of the sea, not being a quarter of a mile distant, gave us very distinctly the music of his multitudinous waves.

"Our curiosity would not allow us to go to bed, till we had touched the ocean-wave. We, therefore, after a poor repast, hastened down to the beach. Between the house and the water, is a wide and level expanse of loose white sand, which is a pretty good sample of Arabia or Zaara, as I have heard them described. Tell me, you who have travelled, whether every country, in the temperate zone, of moderate extent and somewhat diversified, contains not samples of every quarter of the globe?

"The air was wet to the touch and saline to the taste, but the novelty of the scene, to which a canopy of dark clouds, with a pale star gleaming now and then through the crevices, tended to increase, buoyed up my spirits to their usual pitch. To my friend B. this novelty was absolute. He never before saw the ocean; but to me it was new only as I now saw it, at night. Seven years ago I found my way to the margent of the sea, between Sandyhook and the mouth of the Raritan. I took a long peregrination on foot, in company with two friends, and shall never forget the impression which the boundless and troubled ocean, seen for the first time, from an open beach, in a clear day, and with a strong wind blowing landward, made upon me. It was flood-tide, and the sandy margin formed a pretty steep shelf. The billows, therefore, rose to a considerable height, and broke with great fury against it; and my soul was suspended for half an hour, with an awe, a rapture which I never felt before. Far different were my feelings on *this* occasion, for the scene was no longer new to me, and the scene itself was far less magnificent. There was scarcely any wind, the tide was ebb, and the shore declined almost imperceptibly.

"As we came to this place for the purpose of bathing, and had so short a time to stay, we thought we could not begin too early, and therefore stript immediately, notwithstanding the freshness of the air, and what is of greater moment, our ignorance of the shore.

"Up, pretty high upon the shore, is an house, no better than a fisherman's hut. 'Tis a mere frame of wood, boarded at the sides and top, with no window, and a door-way. The floor is sand, and there are pegs against the wall to hang clothes upon. There is a tub provided for cleansing the feet from the sand, which when wet clings to the skin like bird-lime. Towels, which are furnished at the house, we brought not with us.

"Is there any thing, the advantages of which are more universally and constantly manifested, than order? Its value is seen in the most trivial matters, as in the most momentous. This room was pitch-dark, and we were wholly unacquainted with it: and yet by the simple process of hanging our clothes, as we take

them off, on a peg, and putting them on in the same order reversed, there is no difficulty. Some of us were not so wise as to practise this order, and, of consequence, were condemned to grope about half an hour longer than others, in the dark, for stockings, sleeve-buttons, hats, and handkerchiefs.

“What would physicians say to standing naked on a bleak night, with the wind at east, while the billows broke over you for ten minutes? There is an agreeable trepidation felt, while the scene is new, and the sudden effusion of cold water must, methinks, produce powerful effects of some kind or another.

“As we were early comers to this house, we were honoured each with a room to himself. There were twenty or thirty persons to be accommodated, besides a numerous family, in a wooden house of two stories; so that we could not but congratulate ourselves on the privilege thus secured to us. The chamber, however, allotted to me was a little nook, about seven feet long and three wide, only large enough to admit the bedstead and him that slept in it. In such excursions as these, however, hardships and privations, are preferable to ease and luxury. There is something like consciousness of merit in encountering them voluntarily and with cheerfulness. There is a rivalry in hardihood and good humour, more pleasurable than any delights of the senses. A splenetic or fastidious traveller is a great burden to himself and to his company, and ought, through mere generosity, to keep himself at home. In saying this, I am conscious, that in some degree, I pronounce my own condemnation, but I hope I am not very culpable.

“My friends rose at day-light next morning, and went to bathe. They gave me warning, but I heeded it not. My little nook had half melted me with heat, and I felt as if unqualified for the least exertion. I was sorry to have lost the opportunity, and rose, when the sun was high in the heavens, with some degree of regret. But more lucky than I deserved to be, I found a country waggon at the door, ready to carry down any one that chose, to the strand. I went down with another.

“This was a far different bathing from that of the night before. The waggon carries us to the water’s edge, and there we may

undress at our leisure amidst a footing of clean straw, convenient seats and plenty of napkins. The wagon receives us directly from the water and carries us home, without trouble or delay. On this occasion the sun was just warm enough to be comfortable, and the time o'day exactly suited to the bath. Such is my notion of the matter, but I doubt whether any body else will agree with me. Sunrise and sun-set are the usual bathing-times.

After breakfast, we took a walk along the strand. My pastime consisted in picking up shells; in sifting and examining the fine white sand; in treading on the heels and toes of the wave, as it fell and rose, and in trying to find some music in its eternal murmur. Here could I give you long descants on all these topics, but my vague and crude reveries would only make my dull epistle still more dull. The sun at last broke out with the full force of midsummer, and we panted and waded through the sand, homeward, with no small regret that we had ventured so far. We Americans in general have feeble heads: those of us, I mean, who were not born to dig ditches and make hay. A white hat, broad-brimmed, and light as a straw, is an insufficient shelter against the direct beams of the sun. What must we have suffered on this occasion when the vertical rays fell on a surface of smooth white sand? We were almost liquefied before we reached the house.

"The company, at this house, was numerous, and afforded, as usual, abundant topics of speculation. Some were young men, in the hey day of spirits, rattling, restless, and noisy. Some were solid and conversible, and some awkward and reserved. Three ladies, married women, belonged to the company: one of whom said nothing, but was as dignified and courteous in demeanor as silence would let her be: another talked much, and a third hit the true medium pretty well. I did not fail to make a great many reflections on the passing scene, which, together with a volume of Cecilia, made the day pass not very tediously.

"My friends always carry books with them, even when they go abroad for a few hours. One of them to day produced the

Maxims of La Bruyere, the other those of Rouchefoucauld, and some minutes were consumed in decyphering and commenting on these. But the subject which engrossed most attention in the morning, was a plan for procuring a dozen of claret for the embellishment of dinner ; and the return of man and chaise, without the claret for which he had been sent to a distant tavern, cast a great damp upon the spirits of most of us. We got rid of the afternoon pretty easily, by giving an hour or two to the bottle, and the rest to the *siesta*. As to our talk at dinner, there was perfect good humour, and a good deal of inclination to be witty, but I do not recollect a single *good thing* that deserves to be recorded ; and my powers do not enable me to place the common place characters around me in an interesting or amusing point of view. As to myself, I am never at home, never in my element at such a place as this. A thousand nameless restraints incumber my speech and my limbs, and I cannot even listen to others with a gay, unembarrassed mind. Towards evening it began to rain, and not only imprisoned us for the present, but gave us some apprehensions of a detention here for a week. A detention, which, for many reasons, one of which I have already mentioned, would have proved extremely disagreeable to me.

“ My friend, I have grown very tired of my story. I believe I will cut short the rest, and carry you back with me next morning, to New York, in a couple of sentences. The weather on the morrow was damp and lowering, but it cleared up early. We were again agreeably disappointed in our expectations of a crowded stage, and after breakfasting at Jamaica, reached town at one o’clock. On my return, I was just as unobservant of the passing scene as before, and took as little note of the geography of the isle. Set me out on the same journey again, and I should scarcely recognize a foot of the way. I saw trees and shrubs and grasses, but I could not name them, *being as how* I am no botanist.

“ Perhaps, however, I mistake the purpose of such journies, which is not to exercise the reasoning faculties, or to add to knowledge, but to unbend, to dissipate thought and care, and

to strengthen the frame and refresh the spirits, by mere motion and variety. This is the language which my friends hold ; but I confess, mere mental vacuity gives me neither health nor pleasure. To give time wings, my attention must be fixed on something : I must look about me in pursuit of some expected object ; I must converse with my companion on some reasonable topic ; I must find some image in my own fancy to examine, or the way is painfully tedious. This jaunt to Rockaway has left few agreeable traces behind it. All I remember with any pleasure, are the appearance of the wide ocean, and the incidents of bathing in its surges. Had I been a botanist, and lighted upon some new plant ; a mineralogist, and found an agate or a petrification ; a naturalist, and caught such a butterfly as I never saw before, I should have reflected on the journey with no little satisfaction. As it was, I set my foot in the city with no other sentiment, but that of regret, for not having employed these two days in a very different manner."

The incidents here so pleasantly recorded are extremely trivial, but the whole serves to develop the character of the man, and as is observed by a friend when writing on the subject which now occupies me, "in the life of a literary man character is biography." The same friend thus pursues the subject : "How can it be expected that the life can be embellished by splendid incident, when the very profession of the man allows of no other than what passes while seated in solitude at his writing desk. When existence is devoted to pensive musing, are we called upon to create incidents, or must it be what it professes to be, a biography of intellect merely ? If we examine this subject more rigidly, it will be found that these employments, the reception, and the answering of letters, the recital of friendship and antipathies, and the thousand nameless anxieties which a solitary being enjoys, or suffers, are themselves the incidents in the life of a literary man. In comparison with these, the time when a book was published of which he was the author, the profits of the bookseller on the publication of the work, how heavily the first edition went off, and the

rapidity with which it was succeeded by the remainder are nothing, literally nothing. Incidents themselves, and those of the most extraordinary cast, do not always point to character. An artificial character is often assumed, and incidents favourable to its establishment are employed, when, if the life of a man was determined by this standard, a coward would appear in the habiliments of heroism, and a knave in the garb of honesty. It is only when life appears, in what may be denominated its undress, when there is no motive to wear a mask, that the genuine character of man can be discerned. The incidents of a literary existence must be such as are connected with that mode of being. If the life of such a man passes in the solitude of his closet, and is no otherwise diminished than by variegated studies, we say nothing more in fact, than that he was a literary man. Why should we annex the word *incident*, merely to some marvellous occurrence such only as the traveller, or the warrior encounters? It is impossible that life can pass without incident with any being who inherits common sense. There must be a change of thought, what Johnson pompously calls a cession, and retrocession of intellect. These are incidents; these are the means by which this solitary being is enabled to build a name for the admiration of future ages. They constitute the very materials with which his works are constructed, and those, if the above objection has any validity, are led to expect that a man would write a novel, or compose a poem in the same manner in which he would win a battle. That portion of time detached from what the world vulgarly denominates *incident*, is therefore the precise period which it is the duty of a biographer to display. Had his hero been engaged in the contests of the field, or of the bar, then indeed can the public look with propriety for incidents of another sort. But such is not the employment of a writer; solitude alone furnishes him with appropriate incident. Whatever other adventures might befall him if he should mingle in a battle, or the bustling avocations of life, so far would the relation of such circumstances lead the public astray, as to his reputation as a writer. The *incidents* of an author, are his ideas, and those who look for more than these in the history of an author, must

expect to find what they deserve—disappointment. I know it has been often triumphantly said, even by those who admire an author's work, what can the life of such a man afford us? It is merely a life barren of *incident*, as his own works from the labour with which they are constructed, will abundantly testify. Now had this intellectual labour eventuated in the erection of a pyramid, or in the accomplishment of a victory, they would expect to derive amusement from the biography of such a man; but still as he has only produced a book which they themselves admire more than they would do either the one or the other, his life, or more properly the history of the means by which another was able to execute a work so important, becomes entirely insignificant. And why is this difference? Because the one is perhaps accomplished by manual labour merely—the *brute labour* and perhaps the predominant mind which directed the work in every stage of its progress, had not been engaged in the erection of the massy marble. Yet allow that the man who had planned the pyramid, or the victory, should himself have mingled with the labours, the probability is that he would have been able to have executed what he had so munificently designed. What mankind can see and feel, when the minds of others in the hands of an architect begin to assume a visible, tangible and permanent shape, this they are disposed to admire; but had these very persons read how such a pyramid could be erected, or such a battle achieved, they would probably have laughed at the author as an idle visionary, unworthy of regard. And yet this very pyramid, or this very battle, would have been a practical comment on the justice of this despised author's remarks. Incident then so far as it is connected with our present purpose, means fairly this, a dispassionate recital of the thoughts which passed in the mind of C. B. B. It does not mean, and it cannot mean, that he should have been personally engaged in those marvellous adventures which his pen afterwards describes; for had he *acted in those characters*, he never would have been the *author* of such works."

Ever fond of analysis, Charles, even in very early life, would take no opinion upon trust. He found in his own mind abun-

dant reason to reject many of the received opinions of mankind, and to doubt the reality of many facts upon which those opinions are founded. Much of his reading at this time tended to bewilder rather than enlighten and to confirm his predisposition to scepticism. In common with many others, he imputed to wrong causes the defects which are but too apparent in existing systems. He saw the wrong and injustice and evil which exist, and instead of attributing them to the ignorance and selfishness of individuals, he assigned as the cause the errors or inefficiency of those codes which are intended to enlighten or to restrain.

The gentleman who first undertook to fulfil the engagements entered into by those who published proposals, and received subscriptions for these volumes, selected for republication, extracts from a work written in the fall and winter of the year 1797, and which, with the greater part of the selections for the first volume were printed before the present writer was engaged for the work. The extracts he thus introduces: "A principle with him was sacred in proportion as it accorded with his preconceived sensations, and these sensations as has been already abundantly seen, were ardently romantic. Whatever of defect was discernible in existing systems, he imputed to the wrong cause, which was to some inherent ineffectiveness in the system itself, and not to the depravity of our common nature, so capable of perverting the best systems to the worst of purposes. That all human systems are fallible, is saying nothing more than that they were not all the workmanship of our munificent Creator. But Charles took other ground; in the overflowing philanthropy of his heart, he was prone to believe that all these injurious consequences were imputable to the laws of the land. Finding a defect in the law when vigorously analyzed, and that man continued to perpetrate outrages against it, he thought too often that these were imputable to the law itself. Hence in many of his earlier speculations, he reasons upon what mankind would not do, had not such authority interposed its injunction. His feelings, warmed as they always were by human sufferings, aided this deception, until he imputes to the law itself the creation of those very evils which it was designed most assiduously

to guard against. To this he might probably have been led by the perusal of history. Tyrants have existed undoubtedly, and all authority may be called tyranny if the dreams of a visionary are allowed the force and authority of law.

Hence the ardour with which he speaks, unless the peculiarity of his character is known, unless his warm and sublimated fancy, his intense feelings are taken into consideration, will need an apology. Fortunately it may be found, as has been proved by the letters already given, in the excellence of his heart. And it is not an uninteresting speculation to observe how those plunging tenets and dangerous doctrines which he advanced in his first entry into public life, become gradually contracted as he mingles with men and observes human manners. Subtleties that may be defended by an able logician in a thousand different ways are abandoned when he sees them brought to the touch of experiment and fail.

To give the reader a more detailed account, we will refer him to copious extracts from a work written in the fall and winter of the year 1797, entitled *Alcuin*. He will observe that it is composed in the form of a dialogue."

"I called last evening on Mrs. Carter. I had no previous acquaintance with her. Her brother is a man of letters, who, nevertheless, finds little leisure from the engagements of a toilsome profession. He scarcely spends an evening at home, yet takes care to invite, specially and generally, to his house, every one who enjoys the reputation of learning and probity. His sister became, on the death of her husband, his housekeeper. She was always at home. The guests who came in search of the man, finding him abroad, lingered a little as politeness enjoined, but soon found something in the features and accents of the lady, that induced them to prolong their stay, for their own sake: nay, without any well-defined expectation of meeting their inviter, they felt themselves disposed to repeat their visit. We must suppose the conversation of the lady not destitute of attractions; but an additional, and, perhaps, the strongest inducement, was the society of other visitants. The house became, at length, a sort of rendezvous of persons of different ages and

conditions, but respectable for talents or virtues. A commodious apartment, excellent tea, lemonade, and ice—and wholesome fruits—were added to the pleasures of instructive society: no wonder that Mrs. Carter's *coterie* became the favourite resort of the liberal and ingenious.

“ These things did not necessarily imply any uncommon merit in the lady. Skill in the superintendence of a tea-table, affability and modesty, promptness to inquire, and docility to listen, were all that were absolutely requisite in the mistress of the ceremonies. Her apartment was nothing, perhaps, but a Lyceum open at stated hours, and to particular persons, who enjoyed gratis, the benefits of rational discourse, and agreeable repasts. Some one was required to serve the guests, direct the menials, and maintain, with suitable vigilance, the empire of cleanliness and order. This office might not be servile, merely because it was voluntary. The influence of an unbribed inclination might constitute the whole difference between her and a waiter at an inn, or the porter of a theatre.

“ Books are too often insipid. In reading, the senses are inert and sluggish, or they are solicited by foreign objects. To spur up the flagging attention, or check the rapidity of its flights and wildness of its excursions, are often found to be impracticable. It is only on extraordinary occasions that this faculty is at once sober and vigorous, active and obedient. The revolutions of our minds may be watched and noted, but can seldom be explained to the satisfaction of the inquisitive. All that the caprice of nature has left us, is to profit by the casual presence of that which can, by no spell, be summoned or detained.

“ I hate a lecturer. I find little or no benefit in listening to a man who does not occasionally call upon me for my opinion, and allow me to canvass every step in his argument. I cannot, with any satisfaction, survey a column, how costly soever its materials, and classical its ornaments, when I am convinced that its foundation is sand which the next tide will wash away. I equally dislike formal debate, where each man, however few his ideas, is subjected to the necessity of drawing them out to the length of a speech. A single proof, or question, or hint, may be all that the state of the controversy, or the reflections of the speak-

er, suggest: but this must be amplified and iterated, till the sense, perhaps, is lost or enfeebled, that he may not fall below the dignity of an orator. Conversation, careless, and unfettered, that is sometimes abrupt and sententious, sometimes fugitive and brilliant, and sometimes copious and declamatory, is a scene for which, without being much accustomed to it, I entertain great affection. It blends, more happily than any other method of instruction, utility and pleasure. No wonder I was desirous of knowing, long before the opportunity was afforded me, how far these valuable purposes were accomplished by the frequenters of Mrs. Carter's lyceum.

"In the morning I had met the doctor at the bed-side of a sick friend, who had strength enough to introduce us to each other. At parting I received a special invitation for the evening, and a general one to be in force at all other times. At five o'clock I shut up my little school, and changed an alley in the city—dark, dirty, and narrow, as all alleys are—for the fresh air and smooth footing of the fields. I had not forgotten the doctor and his lyceum. Shall I go (said I to myself) or shall I not? No, said the pride of poverty, and the bashfulness of inexperience. I looked at my unpowdered locks, my worsted stockings, and my pewter buckles. I bethought me of my embarrassed air, and my uncouth gait. I pondered on the superciliousness of wealth and talents, the awfulness of flowing muslin, the mighty task of hitting on a right movement at entrance, and a right posture in sitting, and on the perplexing mysteries of tea-table decorum: but, though confused and panic-struck, I was not vanquished.

"I had some leisure, particularly in the evening. Could it be employed more agreeably or usefully? To read, to write, to meditate; to watch a declining moon, and the varying firmament with the emotions of poetry or piety—with the optics of Dr. Young, or of De la Lande—were delightful occupations, and all at my command. Eight hours of the twenty-four were consumed in repeating the names and scrawling the forms of the alphabet, or in engraving on infantile memories that twice three make six; the rest was employed in supplying an exhausted, rather than craving, stomach; in sleep, that never knew, nor desired to know, the luxury of down, and the pomp of tissue; in

unravelling the mazes of Dr. Waring ; or in amplifying the seducing suppositions of, ‘ if I were a king,’ or, ‘ if I were a lover.’ Few, indeed, are as happy as Alcuin. What is requisite to perfect my felicity, but the blessings of health, which is incompatible with periodical head-aches, and the visits of rheumatism ;—of peace, which cannot maintain its post against the hum of a school, the discord of cart-wheels, and the rhetoric of a notable landlady ;—of competence—my trade preserves me from starving and nakedness, but not from the discomforts of scarcity, or the disgrace of shabbiness. Money, to give me leisure ; and exercise, to give me health ; these are all my lot denies : in all other respects I am the happiest of mortals. The pleasures of society, indeed, I seldom taste : that is, I have few opportunities of actual intercourse with that part of mankind whose ideas extend beyond the occurrences of the neighbourhood, or the arrangements of their household. Not but that, when I want company, it is always at hand. My solitude is populous, whenever my fancy thinks proper to people it, and with the very beings that best suit my taste. These beings are, perhaps, on account of my slender experience, too uniform, and somewhat grotesque. Like some other dealers in fiction, I find it easier to give new names to my visionary friends, and vary their condition, than to introduce a genuine diversity into their characters. No one can work without materials. My stock is slender. There are times when I feel a moment’s regret that I do not enjoy the means of enlarging it. But this detail, it must be owned, is a little beside the purpose. I merely intended to have repeated my conversation with Mrs. Carter, but have wandered, unawares, into a dissertation on my own character. I shall now return, and mention that I cut short my evening excursion, speeded homeward, and, after japanning anew my shoes, brushing my hat, and equipping my body in its best geer, proceeded to the doctor’s house.

“ I shall not stop to describe the company, or to dwell on those embarrassments and awkwardness always incident to an unpollished wight like me. Suffice it to say, that I was in a few minutes respectfully withdrawn into a corner, and fortunately a near neighbour of the lady.

"A week elapsed and I repeated my visit to Mrs. Carter. She greeted me in a friendly manner. I have often, said she, since I saw you, reflected on the subject of our former conversation. I have meditated more deeply than common, and I believe to more advantage. The hints that you gave me I have found useful guides.

"And I, said I, have travelled farther than common, incited by a laudable desire of knowledge.

"Travelled?

"Yes, I have visited since I saw you, the paradise of women; and I assure you have longed for an opportunity to communicate the information that I have collected.

"Well: you now enjoy the opportunity; you have engaged it every day in the week. Whenever you had thought proper to come, I could have promised you a welcome.

"I thank you. I should have claimed your welcome sooner, but only returned this evening.

"Returned! Whence, I pry'thee?

"From the journey that I spoke of. Have I not told you that I have visited the paradise of women? The region, indeed is far distant, but a twinkling is sufficient for the longest of my journeys.

"You are somewhat mysterious, and mystery is one of the many things that abound in the world, for which I have an hearty aversion.

"I cannot help it. It is plain enough to me and to my good genius, who when I am anxious to change the scene, and am unable to perform it by the usual means, is kindly present to my prayers, and saves me from three inconveniences, of travelling toil, delay and expense. What sort of vehicle it is that he provides for me, what intervals of space I have overpassed, and what is the situation of the inn where I repose, relatively to this city or this orb, such is the rapidity with which I move that I cannot collect from my own observation. I may sometimes remedy my ignorance in this respect by a comparison of circumstances; for example, the language of the people with whom I passed most of the last week, was English. 'This was a strong symptom of affinity. In other respects the resemblance was sufficiently obscure. Methought I could trace in their buildings

the knowledge of Greek and Roman models: but who can tell that the same images and combinations may not occur to minds distant and unacquainted with each other, but which have been subject to the same enlightened discipline? In manners and sentiments they possessed little in common with us. Here I confess my wonder was most excited, I should have been apt to suspect that they were people of some other planet, especially as I had never met in my reading with any intimations of the existence of such a people on our own. But on looking around me the earth and sky exhibited the same appearances as with us. It once occurred to me, that I had passed the bourne which we are all doomed to pass, and had reached that spot from which, as the poet assures us, no traveller returns. But since I have returned, I must discard that supposition. You will say perhaps when you are acquainted with particulars that it was no more than a sick man's dream, or a poet's reverie. Though I myself cannot adopt this opinion, for who can discredit the testimony of his senses, yet it must be owned that it would most naturally suggest itself to another, and therefore I shall leave you in possession of it.

"So, you would persuade me, said the lady, that the journey you meant to relate, is in your own opinion real, though you are conscious that its improbability will hinder others from believing it.

"If my statement answer that end be it so. The worst judge of the nature of his own conceptions is the enthusiast: I have my portion of ardour which solitude seldom fails to kindle into blaze. It has drawn vigour and activity from exercise. Whether it transgress the limits which a correct judgment prescribes it would be absurd to inquire of the enthusiast himself. If the perceptions of the poet be as lively as those of sense, it is a superfluous inquiry whether their objects exist really, and externally. This is a question which cannot be decided, even with respect to those perceptions which have most seeming and most congruity. We have no direct proof that the ordinary objects of sight and touch have a being independent of these senses. When there is no ground for believing that those chairs and tables have any existence but in my own sensorium, it would be rash to affirm the reality of the objects which I met, or seemed to meet with in my late journey. I see and hear is the utmost

that can be truly said at any time, all that I can say is, that I saw and heard.

"Well, returned the lady, that as you say, is a point of small importance. Let me know what you saw and heard without further ceremony.

"I was witness to the transactions of a people, who would probably gain more of your approbation than those around you can hope for. Yet this is perhaps to build too largely on my imperfect knowledge of your sentiments: however that be, few things offered themselves to my observation, which I did not see reason to applaud, and to wonder at.

"My curiosity embraced an ample field. It did not overlook the condition of women. That negligence had been equally unworthy of my understanding and my heart. It was evening and the moon was present when I lighted, I know not how or whence, on a smooth pavement encompassed by structures that appeared intended for the accommodation of those whose taste led them either to studious retirement or to cheerful conversation. I shall not describe the first transports of my amazement, or dwell on the reflections that were suggested by a transition so new and uncommon, or the means that I employed to penetrate the mysteriousness that hung around every object, and my various conjectures as to the position of the Isle, or the condition of the people among whom I had fallen. I need not tell how in wandering from this spot, I encountered many of both sexes who were employed in awakening by their notes, the neighbouring echoes, or absorbed in musing silence, or engaged in sprightly debate; how one of them remarking as I suppose, the perplexity of my looks, and the uncouthness of my garb, accosted me and condescended to be my guide in a devious tract, which conducted me from one scene of enchantment to another. I need not tell how by the aid of this benevolent conductor, I passed through halls whose pendent lustres exhibited sometimes a groupe of musicians and dancers, sometimes assemblies where state affairs were the theme of sonorous rhetoric, where the claims of ancient patriots and heroes to the veneration of posterity were examined, and the sources of memorable revolutions scrutinized, or which listened to the rehearsals of annalist or poet, or surveyed the labours of the chemist, or inspected the performances of the

mechanical inventor. Need I expatiate on the felicity of that plan, which blended the umbrage of poplars with the murmur of fountains, enhanced by the gracefulness of architecture.

"Come, come, interrupted the lady, this perhaps, may be poetry, but though pleasing it had better be dispensed with. I give you leave to pass over these incidents in silence: I desire merely to obtain the sum of your information, disembarrassed from details of the mode in which you acquired it, and of the mistakes and conjectures to which your ignorance subjected you.

"Well, said I, these restraints it must be owned are a little hard, but since you are pleased to impose them I must conform to your pleasure. After my curiosity was sufficiently gratified by what was to be seen, I retired with my guide to his apartment. It was situated on a terrace which overlooked a mixed scene of groves and edifices, which the light of the moon that had now ascended the meridian, had rendered distinctly visible. After considerable discourse, in which satisfactory answers had been made to all the inquiries which I had thought proper to make, I ventured to ask, I pray thee my good friend, what is the condition of the female sex among you? In this evening's excursion I have met with those, whose faces and voices seemed to bespeak them women, though as far as I could discover they were distinguished by no peculiarities of manners or dress. In those assemblies to which you conducted me, I did not fail to observe that whatever was the business of the hour, both sexes seemed equally engaged in it. Was the spectacle theatrical? The stage was occupied sometimes by men, sometimes by women, and sometimes by a company of each. The tenor of the drama seemed to be followed as implicitly as if custom had enacted no laws upon this subject. Their voices were mingled in the chorusses: I admired the order in which the spectators were arranged. Women were, to a certain degree, associated with women, and men with men; but it seemed as if magnificence and symmetry had been consulted, rather than a scrupulous decorum. Here no distinction in dress was observable, but I suppose the occasion dictated it. Was science or poetry, or art, the topic of discussion? The two sexes mingled their inquiries and opinions. The debate was managed with ardour

and freedom, and all present were admitted to a share in the controversy, without particular exceptions or compliances of any sort. Were shadows and recesses sought by the studious few? As far as their faces were distinguishable, meditation had selected her votaries indiscriminately. I am not unaccustomed to some degree of this equality among my own countrymen, but it appears to be far more absolute and general among you; pray what are your customs and institutions on this head?

"Perhaps, replied my friend, I do not see whither your question tends. What are our customs respecting women? You are doubtless apprised of the difference that subsists between the sexes. That physical constitution which entitles some of us to the appellation of male, and others to that of female you must know. You know its consequences. With these our customs and institutions have no concern; they result from the order of nature, which it is our business merely to investigate. I suppose there are physiologists or anatomists in your country. To them it belongs to explain this circumstance of animal existence.

"The universe consists of individuals. They are perishable. Provision has been made that the place of those that perish should be supplied by new generations. The means by which this end is accomplished, are the same through every tribe of animals. Between contemporary beings the distinction of sex maintains; but the end of this distinction is that since each individual must perish, there may be a continual succession of individuals. If you seek to know more than this, I must refer you to books which contain the speculations of the anatomist, or to the hall where he publicly communicates his doctrines.

"It is evident, answered I, that I have not made myself understood. I did not inquire into the structure of the human body, but into these moral or political maxims which are founded on the difference in this structure between the sexes.

"Need I repeat, said my friend, what I have told you of the principles by which we are governed. I am aware that there are nations of men universally infected by error, or who at least entertain opinions different from ours. It is hard to trace all the effects of a particular belief, which chances to be current among a whole people. I have entered into a pretty copious

explanation of the rules to which we conform in our intercourse with each other, but still perhaps have been deficient.

"No, I cannot complain of your brevity ; perhaps my doubts would be solved by reflecting attentively on the information that I have already received. For that, leisure is requisite ; meanwhile I cannot but confess my surprise that I find among you none of those exterior differences by which the sexes are distinguished by all other nations.

"Give me a specimen if you please, of those differences with which you have been familiar.

"One of them, said I, is dress. Each sex has a garb peculiar to itself. The men and women of our country are more different from each other in this respect, than the natives of remotest countries.

"That is strange, said my friend, why is it so ?

"I know not. Each one dresses as custom prescribes. He has no other criterion. If he selects his garb because it is beautiful or convenient, it is beautiful and commodious in his eyes merely because it is customary.

"But wherefore does custom prescribe a different dress to each sex ?

"I confess I cannot tell, but most certainly it is so. I must likewise acknowledge that nothing in your manners more excites my surprise than your uniformity in this particular.

"Why should it be inexplicable ? For what end do we dress ? Is it for the sake of ornament ? Is it in compliance with our perceptions of the beautiful ? These perceptions cannot be supposed to be the same in all. But since the standard of beauty whatever it be, must be one and the same : since our notions on this head are considerably affected by custom and example, and since all have nearly the same opportunities and materials of judgment, if beauty only were regarded, the differences among us would be trivial. Differences, perhaps, there would be. The garb of one being would, in some degree, however small, vary from that of another. But what causes there are that should make all women agree in their preference of one dress, and all men in that of another, is utterly incomprehensible ; no less than that the difference resulting from this choice should be essential and conspicuous.

“But ornament obtains no regard from us but in subservience to utility. We find it hard to distinguish between the useful and beautiful. When they appear to differ, we cannot hesitate to prefer the former. To us that instrument possesses an invincible superiority to every other which is best adapted to our purpose. Convince me that this garment is of more use than that, and you have determined my choice. We may afterwards inquire, which has the highest pretensions to beauty. Strange if utility and beauty fail to coincide. Stranger still, if having found them in any instance compatible, I sacrifice the former to the latter. But the elements of beauty, though perhaps they have a real existence, are fleeting and inconstant. Not so those principles which enable us to discover what is useful. These are uniform and permanent. So must be the results. Among us, what is useful to one, must be equally so to another. The condition of all is so much alike, that a stuff which deserves the preference of one, because it is obtained with least labour, because its texture is most durable, or most easily renewed or cleansed, is for similar reasons, preferable to all.

“But, said I, you have various occupations. One kind of stuff or one fashion is not equally suitable to every employment. This must produce a variety among you, as it does among us.

“It does so. We find that our tools must vary with our designs. If the task requires a peculiar dress, we assume it. But as we take it up when we enter the workshop, we of course, lay it aside when we change the scene. It is not to be imagined that we wear the same garb at all times. No man enters society laden with the implements of his art. He does not visit the council hall or the theatre with his spade upon his shoulder. As little does he think of bringing thither the garb which he wore in the field. There are no such peculiarities of attitude or gesture among us, that the vesture that has proved most convenient to one in walking or sitting, should be found unsuitable to others. Do the differences of this kind prevalent among you, conform to these rules? Since every one has his stated employment, no doubt each one has a dress peculiar to himself or to those of his own profession.

“No. I cannot say that among us this principle has any extensive influence. The chief difference consists in degrees of expensiveness. By inspecting the garb of a passenger, we discover not so much the trade that he pursues, as the amount of his property. Few labour whose wealth allows them to disperse with it. The garb of each is far from varying with the hours of the day. He need only conform to the changes of the seasons, and model his appearance by the laws of ostentation, in public, and by those of ease in the intervals of solitude. These principles are common to both sexes. Small is the portion of morality or taste, that is displayed by either, but in this, as in most other cases, the conduct of the females is the least faulty. But of all infractions of decorum, we should deem the assuming of the dress of one sex by those of the other, as the most flagrant. It so rarely happens, that I do not remember to have witnessed a single metamorphosis, except perhaps on the stage, and even there a female cannot evince a more egregious negligence of reputation than by personating a man.

“All this, replied my friend, is so strange as to be almost incredible. Why beings of the same nature, inhabiting the same spot, and accessible to the same influences, should exhibit such preposterous differences is wonderful. It is not possible that these modes should be equally commodious or graceful. Custom may account for the continuance, but not for the origin of manners.

“The wonder that you express, said I, is in its turn a subject of surprise to me. What you now say, induces me to expect that among you, women and men are more similarly treated than elsewhere. But this to me, is so singular a spectacle, that I long to hear it more minutely described by you, and to witness it myself.

“If you remain long enough among us you will not want the opportunity. I hope you will find that every one receives that portion which is due to him, and since a diversity of sex cannot possibly make any essential difference in the claims and duties of reasonable beings, this difference will never be found. But you call upon me for descriptions. With what hues shall I delineate the scene? I have exhibited as distinctly as possible the equity that governs us. Its maxims are of various appli-

cation. They regulate our conduct, not only to each other, but to the tribes of insects and birds. Every thing is to be treated as capable of happiness itself, or as instrumental to the happiness of others.

“ But since the sexual differences is something, said I, and since you are not guilty of the error of treating different things as if they were the same, doubtless in your conduct towards each other, the consideration of sex is of some weight.

“ Undoubtedly. A species of conduct is incumbent upon men and women towards each other on certain occasions, that cannot take place between man and man; or between women and women. I may properly supply my son with a razor to remove superfluous hairs from his chin, but I may with no less propriety forbear to furnish my daughter with this impliment, because nature has denied her a beard; but all this is so evident that I cannot but indulge a smile at the formality with which you state it.

“ But, said I, it is the nature and extent of this difference of treatment that I want to know.

“ Be explicit my good friend. Do you want a physiological dissertation on this subject or not? If you do, excuse me from performing the task, I am unequal to it.

“ No. But I will try to explain myself, what for example is the difference which takes place in the education of the two sexes?

“ There is no possible ground for difference. Nourishment is imparted and received in the same way. Their organs of digestion and secretion are the same. There is one diet, one regimen, one mode and degree of exercise, best adapted to unfold the powers of the human body, and maintain them for the longest time in full vigour. One individual may be affected by some casualty or disease, so as to claim to be treated in a manner different from another individual, but this difference is not necessarily connected with sex. Neither sex is exempt from injury, contracted through their own ignorance, or that of others. Doubtless the sound woman and the sick man it would be madness to subject to the same tasks, or the same regimen. But this is no less true if both be of the same sex. Diseases, on whichsoever they fall, are curable by the same means.

“Human beings in their infancy, continued my friend, require the same tendance and instruction: but does one sex require more or less, or a different sort of tendance or instruction than the other? Certainly not. If by any fatal delusion, one sex should imagine its interest to consist in the ill treatment of the other, time would soon detect their mistake. For how is the species to be continued? How is a woman, for example, to obtain a sound body, and impart it to her offspring, but, among other sources, from the perfect constitution of both her parents? But it is needless to argue on a supposition so incredible as that mankind can be benefitted by injustice and oppression.

“Would we render the limbs supple, vigorous and active? And are there two modes equally efficacious of attaining this end? Must we suppose that one sex will find this end of less value than the other, or the means suitable to its attainment different? It cannot be supposed.

“We are born with faculties that enable us to impart and receive happiness. There is one species of discipline, better adapted than any other to open and improve those faculties. This mode is to be practised. All are to be furnished with the means of instruction, whether these consist in the direct commerce of the senses with the material universe, or in intercourse with other intelligent beings. It is requisite to know the reasonings, actions and opinions of others, if we seek the improvement of our own understanding. For this end we must see them, and talk with them if present, or if distant or dead, we must consult these memorials which have been contrived by themselves or others. These are simple and intelligible maxims proper to regulate our treatment of rational beings. The only circumstance to which we are bound to attend is that the subjects of instruction be rational. If any one observe that the consideration of sex is of some moment, how must his remark be understood. Would he insinuate that because my sex is different from yours, one of us only can be treated as rational, or that though reason be a property of both, one of us possesses less of it than the other. I am not born among a people who can countenance so monstrous a doctrine.

“No two persons are entitled in the strictest sense, to the same treatment, because no two can be precisely alike. All

the possibilities and shades of difference, no human capacity can estimate. Observation will point out some of the more considerable sources of variety. Man is a progressive being, he is wise in proportion to the number of his ideas, and to the accuracy with which he compares and arranges them. These ideas are received through the inlets of his senses. They must be successively received. The objects which suggest them, must be present. There must be time for observation. Hence the difference is, in some degree, uniform between the old and the young. Between those, the sphere of whose observation has been limited, and those whose circle is extensive. Such causes as these of difference are no less incident to one sex than to the other. The career of both commences in childhood and ignorance. How far and how swiftly they may proceed before their steps are arrested by disease, or death, is to be inferred from a knowledge of their circumstances: such as betide them simply as individuals.

“It would, perhaps, be unreasonable to affirm that the circumstance of sex affects in no degree the train of ideas in the mind. It is not possible that any circumstance, however trivial, should be totally without mental influence; but we may safely affirm that this circumstance is indeed trivial, and its consequences, therefore, unimportant. It is inferior to most other incidents of human existence, and to those which are necessarily incident to both sexes. He that resides among hills, is a different mortal from him that dwells on a plain. Subterranean darkness, or the seclusion of a valley, suggest ideas of a kind different from those that occur to us on the airy verge of a promontory, and in the neighbourhood of roaring waters. The influence on my character which flows from my age, from the number and quality of my associates, from the nature of my dwelling place, as sultry or cold, fertile or barren, level or diversified, the art that I cultivate, the extent or frequency of my excursions cannot be of small moment. In comparison with this, the qualities which are to be ascribed to my sex are unworthy of being mentioned. No doubt my character is in some degree tinged by it, but the tinge is inexpressibly small.

“You give me leave to conclude then, said I, that the same method of education is pursued with regard to both sexes?

“Certainly, returned my philosopher. Men possess powers that may be drawn forth and improved by exercise and discipline. Let them be so, says our system. It contents itself with prescribing certain general rules to all that bear the appellation of human. It permits all to refresh and invigorate their frames by frequenting the purest streams and the pleasantest fields, and by practising those gestures and evolutions that tend to make us robust and agile. It admits the young to the assemblies of their elders, and exhorts the elder to instruct the young. It multiplies the avenues, and facilitates the access to knowledge. Conversations, books, instruments, specimens of the productions of art and nature, haunts of meditation, and public halls, liberal propensities and leisure, it is the genius of our system to create, multiply, and place within the reach of all. It is far from creation, and debasing its views, by distinguishing those who dwell on the shore from those that inhabit the hills; the beings whom a cold temperature has bleached, from those that are embrowned by an hot.

“But different persons, said I, have different employments. Skill cannot be obtained in them without a regular course of instruction. Each sex has, I doubt not, paths of its own into which the others must not intrude. Hence must arise a difference in their education.

“Who has taught you, replied he, that each sex must have peculiar employments? Your doubts and your conjectures are equally amazing. One would imagine that among you, one sex had more arms, or legs, or senses than the other. Among us there is no such inequality. The principles that direct us in the choice of occupations are common to all.

“Pray tell me, said I, what these principles are.

“They are abundantly obvious. There are some tasks which are equally incumbent upon all. These demand no more skill and strength than is possessed by all. Men must provide themselves by their own efforts with food, clothing and shelter. As long as they live together there is a duty obliging them to join their skill and their exertions for the common benefit. A certain portion of labour will supply the needs of all. This portion then must be divided among all. Each one must acquire and exert the skill which this portion requires. But this skill and

this strength are found by experience to be moderate and easily attained. To plant maize, to construct an arch, to weave a garment, are no such arduous employments but that all who have emerged from the infirmity and ignorance of childhood, may contribute their efforts to the performance.

“But besides occupations which are thus of immediate and universal utility, there is an infinite variety of others. The most exquisite of all calamities, results from a vacant mind and unoccupied limbs. The highest pleasure demands the ceaseless activity of both. To enjoy this pleasure it is requisite to find some other occupation of our time, beside those which are enjoined by the physical necessities of our nature. Among these there is ample room for choice. The motives that may influence us in this choice, are endless. I shall not undertake to enumerate them. You can be at no loss to conceive them without my assistance: but whether they be solitary or social, whether speech or books, or observation, or experiment be the medium of instruction, there can be nothing in the distinction of sex to influence our determinations, or this influence is so inconsiderable as not to be worth mention.

“What, cried I, are all obliged to partake of all the labours of tilling the ground, without distinction of rank and sex?

“Certainly. There are none that fail to consume some portion of the product of the ground. To exempt any from a share in the cultivation, would be an inexpressible injustice, both to those who are exempted and those who are not exempted. The exercise is cheerful and wholesome. Its purpose is just and necessary. Who shall dare to deny me a part in it? But we know full well that the task, which, if divided among many, is easy and salubrious, is converted into painful and unwholesome drudgery, by being confined to a sex, what phrenzy must that be which should prompt us to introduce a change in this respect? I cannot even imagine so great a perversion of the understanding. Common madness is unequal to so monstrous a conception. We must first not only cease to be reasonable, but cease to be men. Even that supposition is insufficient, for into what class of animals must we sink, before this injustice could be realized? Among beasts there are none who do not owe their accommodations to their own exertions.

"Food is no less requisite to one sex than to the other. As the necessity of food, so the duty of providing it is common. But the reason why I am to share in the labour, is not merely because I am to share in the fruits. I am a being guided by reason and susceptible of happiness. So are other men. It is therefore a privilege that I cannot relinquish, to promote and contemplate the happiness of others. After the cravings of necessity are satisfied, it remains for me, by a new application of my powers, to enlarge the pleasures of existence. The inlets to this pleasure are numberless. What can prompt us to take from any the power of choosing among these, or to incapacitate him from choosing with judgment. The greater the number of those who are employed in administering to pleasure, the greater will be the product. Since both sexes partake of this capacity, what possible reasons can there be for limiting or precluding the efforts of either ?

"What I conceive to be unjust, may yet be otherwise ; but my actions will conform to my opinions. If you would alter the former, you must previously introduce a change into the latter. I know the opinions of my countrymen. The tenor of their actions will conform to their notions of right. Can the time ever come, will the power ever arise, that shall teach them to endure the oppression of injustice themselves, or inflict it upon others ? No.

"But in my opinion, said I, the frame of women is too delicate, their limbs too minute for rough and toilsome occupations. I would rather confine them to employments more congenial to the female elements of softness and beauty.

"You would rather, would you ? I will suppose you sincere, and inquire how you would expect to obtain their consent to your scheme.

"The sentiments, said I, of a single individual, would avail nothing. But if all the males should agree to prescribe their employments to women—

"What then ? interrupted my friend. There are but two methods of effecting this end—by force or by persuasion. With respect to force we cannot suppose human beings capable of it, for any moral purpose ; but supposing them capable, we would scarcely resort to force, while our opponents are equal in num-

ber, strength and skill to ourselves. The efficacy of persuasion is equally chimerical. That frailty of mind which should make a part of mankind willing to take upon themselves a double portion of the labour, and to convert what is pleasurable exercise to all, into a source of pain and misery to a few. But these are vain speculations, let us dismiss them from our notice.

"Willingly, said I, we will dismiss these topics for the sake of one more important.

"I presume then, said I, there is such a thing as marriage among you.

"I do not understand the term.

"I use it to express that relation which subsists between two human beings in consequence of difference of sex.

"You puzzle me exceedingly, returned he. You question me as to the existence of that concerning which it is impossible for you to be ignorant. You cannot at this age be a stranger to the origin of human existence.

"When I had gotten thus far in my narrative, I paused. Mrs. Carter still continued to favour me with her attention. On observing my silence she desired me to proceed.

"I presume, said she, your supernatural conductor allowed you to finish the conversation. To snatch you away just now, in the very midst of your subject, would be doing you and me likewise a very unacceptable office. I beseech you go on with the discourse.

"It may not be proper, answered I. This is a topic on which, strange to tell, we cannot discourse in the same terms before every audience. The remainder of our conversation decorum would not perhaps forbid you to read, but it prohibits you from hearing. If you wish it, I will give you the substance of the information I collected on this topic in writing.

"What is improper to be said in my hearing, said the lady, it should seem was no less improper to be knowingly addressed to me by the pen.

"Then, said I, you do not assent to my offer.

"Nay, I do not refuse my assent. I merely object to the distinction, that you have raised. There are many things improper to be uttered, or written, or to be read, or listened to, but the impropriety methinks must adhere to the sentiments them-

selves, and not result from the condition of the author or his audience.

"Are these your real sentiments?"

"Without doubt. But they appear not to be yours. However write what you please, I promise you to read it, and to inform you of my opinion respecting it. Your scheme, I suspect, will not be what is commonly called marriage, but something in your opinion, better. This footing is a dubious one. Take care, it is difficult to touch without overstepping the verge.

"Your caution is reasonable. I believe silence will be the safest. You will excuse me therefore from taking up the pen on this occasion. The ground you say, and I believe, is perilous. It will be most prudent to avoid it.

"As you please, but remember that though I may not approve of what you write, your silence I shall approve still less. If it be false, it will enable me at least to know you, and I shall thereby obtain an opportunity of correcting your mistakes. Neither of these purposes are trivial. Are you not aware that no future declaration of yours will be more unfavourable than what you have just said, that silence will be most safe. You are afraid no doubt, of shocking too greatly my prejudices; but you err. I am certainly prepossessed in favour of the system of marriage, but the strength of this prepossession will appear only in the ardour of my compassion for contrary opinions, and the eagerness of my endeavours to remove them.

"You would condescend then, said I, to reason on the subject, as if it were possible that marriage was an erroneous institution; as if it were possible that any one could seriously maintain it to be, without entitling himself to the imputation of the lowest profligacy. Most women would think that the opponent of marriage, either assumed the character for the most odious and selfish purposes, and could therefore only deserve to be treated as an assassin: to be detested and shunned, or if he were sincere in his monstrous faith, that all efforts to correct his mistakes would avail nothing with respect to the patient, but might endanger the physician by exposing her to the illusions of sophistry or the contagion of passion.

"I am not one of these, said the lady. The lowest stupidity only can seek its safety in shutting its ears. We may call that

sophistry, which having previously heard, it fails to produce conviction. Yet sophistry perhaps implies not merely fallacious reasoning, but a fallaciousness of which the reasoner himself is apprised. If so, few charges ought to be made with more caution. But nothing can exceed the weakness that prevents us from attending to what is going to be urged against our opinions, merely from the persuasion that what is adverse to our preconceptions must be false. Yet there are examples of this folly among our acquaintance. You are wrong, said I lately to one of these, if you will suffer me, I will convince you of your error. You may save yourself the trouble, she answered. You may torment me with doubts, but why, when I see the truth clearly already, should I risque the involving of it in obscurity? I repeat, I am not of this class. Force is to be resisted by force, or eluded by flight: but he that argues, whatever be his motives, should be encountered with argument. He cannot commit a greater error than to urge topics, the insufficiency of which is known to himself. To demonstrate this error is as worthy of truth as any other province. To sophistry, in any sense of the term, the proper antidote is argument. Give me leave to take so much interest in your welfare, as to desire to see your errors corrected, and to contribute what is in my power to that end. If I know myself so well as sometimes to listen to others in the hope of profiting by their superior knowledge or sagacity, permit me likewise to be just to myself in other respects, and to believe myself capable sometimes of pointing out his mistakes to another.

“You seem, said I, to think it certain that we differ in opinion upon this topic.

“No. I merely suspect that we do. A class of reasoners has lately arisen, who aim at the deepest foundation of civil society. Their addresses to the understanding have been urged with no despicable skill. But this was insufficient, it was necessary to subdue our incredulity, as to the effects of their new maxims, by exhibiting those effects in detail, and winning our assent to their truth by engrossing the fancy and charming the affections. The journey that you have lately made, I merely regard as an excursion into their visionary world. I can trace the argument of the parts which you have unfolded, with those which are yet

to come, and can pretty well conjecture of what hues, and lines, and figures, the remainder of the picture is intended to consist.

"Then, said I, the task that I enjoined on myself is superfluous. You are apprised of all that I mean to say on the topic of marriage, and have already laid in an ample stock of disapprobation for my service.

"I frankly confess that I expect not to approve the matter of your narrative, however pleased I may be with the manner. Nevertheless I wish you to execute your first design, that I may be able to unveil the fallacy of your opinions, and rescue one whom I have no reason to disrespect, from specious but fatal illusions.

"Your purpose is kind. It entitles you at least to my thanks. Yet to say truth, I did not at first despair of your confidence with me in some of my opinions. I imagined that some of the evils of marriage had not escaped you. I recollect that during our last conversation, you arraigned with great earnestness the injustice of condemning women to obey the will, and depend upon the bounty of father or husband.

"Come, come, interrupted the lady, with a severer aspect, if you mean to preserve my good opinion, you must tread on this ground with more caution. Remember the atrociousness of the charge you would insinuate. What! Because a just indignation at the iniquities that are hourly committed on one half of the human species rises in my heart, because I vindicate the plainest dictates of justice, and am willing to rescue so large a portion of human-kind, from so destructive a bondage: a bondage not only of the hands, but of the understanding; which divests them of all those energies which distinguish men from the basest animals, destroys all perception of moral rectitude, and reduces its subjects to so calamitous a state, that they adore the tyranny that rears its crest over them, and kiss the hand that loads them with ignominy! When I demand an equality of conditions among beings that equally partake of the same divine reason, would you rashly infer that I was an enemy to the institution of marriage itself? Where shall we look for human beings who surpass all others in depravity and wretchedness? Are they not to be found in the haunts of female licentiousness. If their vice admits of a darker hue, it would receive it from the circumstance

of their being dissolute by theory; of their modelling voluptuousness into a speculative system. Yet this is the charge you would make upon me. You would brand me as an enemy to marriage, not in the sense that a vestal, or widow, or chaste, but deserted maid is an enemy; not even in that sense in which the abandoned victims of poverty and temptation are enemies, but in the sense of that detestable philosophy which scoffs at the matrimonial institution itself, which denies all its pretensions to sanctity, which consigns us to the guidance of a sensual impulse, and treats as phantastic or chimerical, the sacred charities of husband, son, and brother. Beware. Imputations of this kind are more fatal in the consequences than you may be able to conceive. They cannot be indifferent to me. In drawing such inferences, you would hardly be justified by the most disinterested intentions.

“Such inferences, my dear Madam, it is far from my intention to draw. I cannot but think your alarms unnecessary. If I am an enemy to marriage far be it from me to be the champion of sensuality. I know the sacredness of this word in the opinions of mankind; I know how liable to be misunderstood are the efforts of him who should labour to explode it. But still, is it not possible to define with so much perspicuity, and distinguish with so much accuracy as to preclude all possibility of mistake? I believe this possible. I deem it easy to justify the insinuation that you yourself are desirous of subverting the marriage state.

“Proceed, said the lady. Men are at liberty to annex to words what meaning they think proper. What should hinder you, if you so please, from saying that snow is of the deepest black? Words are arbitrary. The idea that others annex to the word black, you are at liberty to transfer to the word white. But in the use of this privilege you must make your account in not being understood, and in reversing all the purposes of language.

“Well, said I, that is yet to appear. Meanwhile, I pray you, what are *your* objections to the present system?

“My objections are weighty ones. I disapprove of it, in the first place, because it renders the female a slave to the man. It enjoins and enforces submission on her part to the will of her husband. It includes a promise of implicit obedience and unalterable affection. Secondly, it leaves the woman destitute of proper-

ty. Whatever she previously possesses, belongs absolutely to the man.

“This representation seems not to be a faithful one, said I. Marriage leaves the wife without property, you say. How comes it then that she is able to subsist? You will answer, perhaps, that her sole dependence is placed upon the bounty of her husband. But this is surely an error. It is by virtue of express laws that all property subsists. But the same laws sanction the title of a wife to a subsistence proportioned to the estate of her husband. But if law were silent, custom would enforce this claim. The husband is in reality nothing but a steward. He is bound to make provision for his wife, proportionately to the extent of his own revenue. This is a practical truth, of which every woman is sensible. It is this that renders the riches of an husband a consideration of so much moment in the eye of a prudent woman. To select a wealthy partner is universally considered as the certain means of enriching ourselves, not less when the object of our choice is an husband than when it is a wife.

“Notwithstanding all this, said the lady, you will not pretend to affirm that marriage renders the property common.

“May I not truly assert, rejoined I, that the wife is legally entitled to her maintenance?

Yes, she is entitled to food, raiment, and shelter, if her husband can supply them. Suppose a man in possession of five thousand pounds a year: from this the wife is entitled to maintenance: but how shall the remainder be administered? Is not the power of the husband, over this, absolute? Cannot he reduce himself to poverty to-morrow? She may claim a certain portion of what she has, but he may, at his own pleasure, divest himself of all that he has. He may expend it on what purposes he pleases. It is his own, and, for the use of it, he is responsible to no tribunal; but in reality, this pompous claim of his wife amounts, in most cases, to nothing. It is the discretion of the husband that must decide, as to the kind and quantity of that provision. He may be niggardly or prodigal, according to the suggestions of his own caprice. He may hasten to poverty himself, or he may live, and compel his partner to live, in the midst of wealth as if he were labouring under extreme indigence. In neither case has the wife any remedy.

“ But recollect, my good friend, the husband is commonly the original proprietor. Has the wife a just claim to that which, before marriage, belonged to her spouse ?

“ Certainly not. Nor is it less true that the husband has no just claim to that which, previously to marriage, belonged to the wife. If property were, in all respects, justly administered, if patrimonies were equally divided among offspring, and if the various avenues that lead to the possession of property were equally accessible to both sexes, it would be found as frequently and extensively vested in one son as in the other. Marriage is productive of no consequences which justify the transfer of what either previously possessed to the other. The idea of common property is absurd and pernicious ; but even this is better than poverty and dependence to which the present system subjects the female.

“ But, said I, it is not to be forgotten that the household is common. One dwelling, one table, one set of servants may justly be sustained by a single fund. This fund may be managed by common consent. No particle of expense may accrue without the concurrence of both parties, but if there be a difference of opinion, some one must ultimately decide. Why should not this be the husband ? You will say that this would be unjust. I answer that, since it is necessary that power should be vested in one or the other the injustice is inevitable. An opposite procedure would not diminish it. If this necessary power of deciding in cases of disagreement were lodged in the wife, the injustice would remain.

“ But a common fund and a common dwelling is superfluous. Why is marriage to condemn two human beings to dwell under the same roof and to eat at the same table, and to be served by the same domestics ? This circumstance alone is the source of innumerable ills. Familiarity is the sure destroyer of reverence. All the bickerings and dissensions of a married life flow from no other source than that of too frequent communication. How difficult is it to introduce harmony of sentiment, even on topics of importance, between two persons ? But this difficulty is increased in proportion to the number and frequency, and the connection with our private and personal deportment of these topics.

“If two persons are condemned to cohabitation, there must doubtless be mutual accommodation. But let us understand this term. No one can sacrifice his opinions. What is incumbent upon him, in certain cases, is only to forbear doing what he esteems to be right. Now that situation is most eligible in which we are at liberty to conform to the dictates of our judgment. Situations of a different kind will frequently occur in human life. Many of them exist without any necessity. Such, in its present state, is matrimony.

“Since an exact agreement of opinions is impossible, and since the intimate and constant intercourse of a married life requires either that the parties should agree in their opinions, or that one should forego his own resolutions, what is the consequence? Controversies will incessantly arise, and must be decided. If argument be insufficient, recourse must be had to legal authority, to brute force, or servile artifices, or to that superstition that has bound itself by a promise to obey. These might be endured if they were the necessary attendants of marriage; but they are spurious additions. Marriage is a sacred institution, but it would argue the most pitiful stupidity to imagine that all those circumstances which accident and custom have annexed to it are likewise sacred. Marriage is sacred, but iniquitous laws, by making it a compact of slavery, by imposing impracticable conditions and extorting impious promises have, in most countries, converted it into something flagitious and hateful.

“But the marriage promises, said I, amount to this, that the parties shall love each other till death. Would you impose no restraint on wayward inclinations? Shall this contract subsist no longer than suits the wishes of either party? Would you grant, supposing you exalted into a law-giver, an unlimited power of divorces?

“Without the least doubt. What shadow of justice is there in restraining mankind in this particular. My liberty is precious, but of all the ways in which my liberty can be infringed, and my actions be subjected to force, heaven deliver me from this species of constraint. It is impossible to do justice to my feelings on this occasion. Offer me any alternative, condemn me to the workshop of an Egyptian task-master, imprison me in chains of darkness, tear me into pieces, subject me to the endless repetition of toil and

stripes and contumelies, but allow me, I beseech you, the liberty, at least, of conjugal choice. If you prohibit my intercourse with one on whom my heart dotes, I shall not repine, the injury is inexpressibly trivial. There is scarcely an inconvenience that will be worth enduring for the sake of this prohibited good. My resources must be few, indeed, if they do not afford me consolation under this injustice. But if you subject me to the controul and the nauseous caresses of one whom I hate, or despise, you indeed inflict a calamity which nothing can compensate. There is no form which your injustice can assume more detestable and ugly than this.

“ According to present modes, the servitude of wives is the most entire and unremitting. She lays aside her fetters not for a moment. There is not an action, however minute, in which her tyrant does not assume the power of prescribing. His eyes are eternally upon her. There is no period, however short, in which she is exempt from his cognizance ; no recess, however sacred or mysterious, into which he does not intrude. She cannot cherish the friendship of a human being without his consent. She cannot dispense a charitable farthing without his connivance. The beings who owe their existence to her, are fashioned by his sole and despotic will. All their dignity and happiness is lodged in the hands that superintend their education and prescribe their conduct during the important periods of infancy and youth. But how they shall exist, what shall be taught, and what shall be withholden from them, what precepts they shall hear, and what examples they shall contemplate, it is his province to decide.

“ An husband is proposed to me. I ruminate on these facts. I ponder on this great question. Shall I retain my liberty or not ? Perhaps the evils of my present situation, the pressure of poverty, the misjudging rule of a father, or the rare qualities of him who is proposed to me, the advantages of change of place or increase of fortune, may outweigh the evils of this state. Perhaps I rely on the wisdom of my partner. I am assured that he will, in all cases, trust to nothing but the force of reason ; that his arguments will always convince, or his candour be accessible to conviction ; that he will never make his appeal to personal or legal coercion, but allow me the dominion of my own conduct when he

cannot persuade me to compliance with his wishes. These considerations may induce me to embrace the offer.

“ If I am not deceived; if no inauspicious revolution take place in his character; if circumstances undergo no material alteration; if I continue to love and to confide as at the first, it is well. I cannot object to a perpetual alliance, provided it be voluntary. There is nothing, in a choice of this kind, that shall necessarily cause it to expire. This alliance will be durable in proportion to the wisdom with which it was formed, and the foresight that was exerted.

“ But if a change take place, if I were deceived, and find insolence and peevishness, rigour and command, where I expected nothing but sweet equality and unalterable complaisance; or if the character be changed, if time introduce new modes of thinking and new systems of action to which my understanding refuses to assimilate, what is the consequence? Shall I not revoke my choice?

“ The hardships of constraint in this respect are peculiarly severe upon the female. Her's is the task of submission. In every case of disagreement it is she that must yield. The man still retains, in a great degree, his independence. In the choice of his abode, his occupations, his associates, his tasks and his pleasures, he is guided by his own judgment. The conduct of his wife, the treatment of her offspring, and the administration of her property are consigned to him. All the evils of constraint are aggravated by the present system. But if the system were reformed, if the duties of marriage extended to nothing but occasional interviews and personal fidelity, if each retained power over their own actions in all cases not immediately connected with the sensual intercourse, the obligation to maintain this intercourse, after preference had ceased, would be eminently evil. Less so, indeed, than in the present state of marriage, but still it would be fertile in misery. Have you any objections to this conclusion?

“ I cannot say that I have many. You know what is commonly urged in questions of this kind. Men, in civil society are, in most cases, subjected to a choice of evils. That which is injurious to one, or a few individuals, may yet be beneficial to the whole. In an estimate, sufficiently comprehensive, the good may overweigh the ill. You have drawn a forcible picture of the in-

conveniences attending the prohibition of divorces. Perhaps if entire liberty in this respect were granted, the effects might constitute a scene unspeakably more disastrous than any thing hitherto conceived.

“ As how, I pray you ?

“ Men endeavour to adhere with a good grace to a contract which they cannot infringe. That which is commonly termed love is a vagrant and wayward principle. It pretends to spurn at those bounds which decorum and necessity prescribe to it, and yet, at the same time, is tamely and rigidly observant of those bounds. This passion commonly betides us when we have previously reasoned ourselves into the belief of the propriety of entertaining it. It seldom visits us but at the sober invitation of our judgment. It speedily takes its leave when its presence becomes uneasy, and its gratification ineligible or impossible. Youth and beauty, it is said, have a tendency to excite this passion, but suppose those qualities are discovered in a sister, what becomes of this tendency ? Suppose the possession to be already a wife. If chance place us near an object of uncommon loveliness and we are impressed with a notion that she is single and disengaged, our hearts may be in some danger. But suppose better information has precluded this mistake, or that it is immediately rectified, the danger in most cases, is at an end. I am married and have no power to dissolve the contract. Will this consideration have no power over my sensations in the presence of a stranger ? If care, accomplishments, and inimitable loveliness attract my notice, after my lot is decided, and chained me to one, with whom the comparison is disadvantageous, I may indulge a faint wish that my destiny had otherwise decreed ; a momentary sigh at the irrevocableness of my choice, but my regrets will instantly vanish. Recollecting that my fate is indeed decided, and my lot truly irrevocable, I become cheerful and calm.

“ It is true that harmony cannot be expected to subsist for ever and in every minute instance between two persons, but how far will the consciousness that the ill is without remedy, and the condition of affairs unchangeable, tend to foster affection and generate mutual compliance. Human beings are distinguished by nothing more than by a propensity to imitation. They contract affection and resemblance with those persons or objects that are

placed near them. The force of habit, in this respect, is admirable. Even inanimate objects become, through the influence of this principle, necessary to our happiness. They that are constant companions fail not to become, in most respects, alike, and to be linked together by the perception of this likeness. Their modes of acting and thinking might, at first, have jarred, but these modes are not in their own nature, immutable. The benefits of concurrence, the inconveniences of opposition, and the opportunities of comparing and weighing the grounds of their differences cannot be supposed to be without some tendency to produce resemblance and sympathy.

“ This is plausible, said the lady, but what is your aim in stating these remarks ? Do you mean by them to extenuate the evils that arise from restraining divorces ?

“ If they contribute to that end, answered I, it is proper to urge them. They promote a good purpose. Your picture was so terrible that I am willing to employ any expedient for softening its hues.

“ If it were just, you ought to have admitted its justice. We see the causes of these evils. They admit of an obvious remedy. A change in the opinions of a nation is all that is requisite for this end. But let us examine your pleas, or rather, instead of reasoning on the subject, let us turn our eyes on the world and its scenes, and mark the effect of this spirit by which human beings are prompted to adopt the opinions, and dote upon the presence of those whom accident has placed beside them. It would be absurd to deny all influence to habit and all force to reflections upon the incurableness of the evil, but what is the effect they produce ? In numberless cases the married life is a scene of perpetual contention and strife. A transient observer frequently perceives this, but in cases where appearances are more specious, he that has an opportunity to penetrate the veil which hangs over the domestic scene, is often disgusted with a spectacle of varied and exquisite misery. Nothing is to be found but a disgusting train of mean compliances, despicable artifices, peevishness, recriminations and falsehood. It is rare that fortitude and consideration are exercised by either party. Their misery is heightened by impatience and tormenting recollections, but the few whose minds are capable of fortitude, who estimate the

evil at its just value, and profit by the portion of good, whatever it be, that remains to them, experience indeed, sensations less acute, and pass fewer moments of bitterness ; but it is from the unhappy that patience is demanded. This virtue does not annihilate the evil that oppresses us, but lightens it. It does not destroy in us the consciousness of privileges of which we are destitute, or of joys which have taken their flight. Its office is to prevent these reflections from leading us to rage and despair ; to make us look upon lost happiness without relapsing into phrenzy ; to establish in our bosoms the empire of cold and solemn indifference.

“ If the exercise of reason and the enjoyment of liberty be valuable ; if the effusions of genuine sympathy and the adherence to an unbiassed and enlightened choice, be the true element of man, what shall we think of that harmony which is the result of narrow views and that sympathy which is the offspring of constraint ?

“ I know that love, as it is commonly understood, is an empty and capricious passion. It is a sensual attachment which, when unaccompanied with higher regards, is truly contemptible. To thwart it is often to destroy it, and sometimes, to qualify the victims of its delusions for Bedlam. In the majority of cases it is nothing but a miserable project of affectation. The languishing and sighing lover is an object to which the errors of mankind have annexed a certain degree of reverence. Misery is our title to compassion, and to men of limited capacities the most delicious potion that can be administered is pity. For the sake of this, hundreds are annually metamorphosed into lovers. It is graceful to languish with an hopeless passion ; to court the music of sighs and the secrecy of groves. But it is to be hoped that these chimeras will, at length, take their leave of us.

“ In proportion as men become wise, their pursuits will be judiciously selected, and that which they have wisely chosen will continue for a certain period, to be the objects of their choice. Conjugal fidelity and constancy will characterize the wise. But constancy is meritorious only within certain limits. What reverence is due to groundless and obstinate attachments ? It becomes me to make the best choice that circumstances will admit, but human affairs will never be reduced to that state in

which the decisions of the wisest man will be immutable. Allowance must be made for inevitable changes of situation, and for the nature of man, which is essentially progressive: That is evil which hinders him from conforming to these changes, and restrains him from the exercise of his judgment.

“ Let it be admitted that love is easily extinguished by reflection. Does it follow that he ought to be controuled in the choice of his companion? Your observations imply, that he that is now married to one woman, would attach himself to another, if the law did not interpose. Where are the benefits of interposition? Does it increase the happiness of him that is affected by it? Will its succour be invoked by his present consort? That a man continues to associate with me contrary to his judgment and inclination is no subject of congratulation. If law or force obliged him to endure my society, it does not compel him to feign esteem, or dissemble hatred or indifference. If the heart of my husband be estranged from me, I may possibly regard it as an evil. If in consequence of this estrangement, we separate our persons and interests, this is a desirable consequence. This is the only palliation of which the evil is susceptible.

“ It cannot be denied that certain inconveniences result from the disunion of a married pair, according to the present system. You have justly observed that men are reduced, in most cases, to a choice of evils. Some evils are unavoidable. Others are gratuitous and wantonly incurred. The chief evils flowing from the dissolution of marriage, are incident to the female. This happens in consequence of the iniquitous and partial treatment to which women in general are subjected. If marriage were freed from all spurious obligations, the inconveniences, attending the dissolution of it, would be reduced to nothing.

“ What think you, said I, of the duty we owe to our children. Is not their happiness materially affected by this species of liberty?

“ I cannot perceive how. I would, however, be rightly understood. I confess that, according to the present system, it would, and hence arises a new objection to this system. The children suffer, but do their sufferings, even in the present state of things, outweigh the evils resulting from the impossibility of

separation? The evil that the parents endure, and the evils accruing to the offspring themselves?

“ If children stand in need of the guidance and protection of their elders, and particularly of their parents, it ought to be granted. The parental relation continues notwithstanding a divorce. Though they have ceased to be husband and wife to each other, they have not ceased to be father and mother to me. My claims on them are the same, and as forcible as ever. The ties by which they are bound to me, are not diminished by this event. My claim for subsistence is made upon their property. But this accident does not annihilate their property. If it impoverish one, the other is proportionably enriched. There is the same inclination and power to answer my claim: The judgment that consulted for my happiness and decided for me, before their separation, is no whit altered or lessened. On the contrary, it is most likely to be improved. When relieved from the task of tormenting each other, and no longer exposed to bickerings and disappointment, they become better qualified for any disinterested or arduous office.

“ But what effects, said I, may be expected from the removal of this restraint, upon the morals of the people? It seems to open a door to licentiousness and profligacy. If marriages can be dissolved and contracted at pleasure, will not every one deliver himself up to the impulse of a lawless appetite? Would not changes be incessant? All chastity of mind perhaps, would perish. A general corruption of manners would ensue, and this vice would pave the way for the admission of a thousand others, till the whole nation were sunk into a state of the lowest degeneracy.

“ Pray thee, cried the lady, leave this topic of declamation to the school boys—Liberty, in this respect, would eminently conduce to the happiness of mankind. A partial reformation would be insufficient. Set marriage on a right basis, and the pest that has hitherto made itself an inmate of every house, and ravaged every man’s peace, will be exterminated. The servitude that has debased one half of the tyranny that has depraved the other half of the human species will be at an end.

“ And with all those objections to the present regulations on this subject, you will still maintain that you are an advocate of marriage?

“Undoubtedly I retain the term, and am justified by common usage in retaining it. No one imagines that the forms which law or custom, in a particular age or nation, may happen to annex to marriage are essential to it, if lawgivers should enlarge the privilege of divorce, and new modify the rights of property, as they are affected by marriage. Should they ordain that henceforth the husband should vow obedience to the wife, in place of the former vow which the wife made to the husband, or entirely prohibit promises of any kind; should they expunge from the catalogue of conjugal duties that which confines them to the same dwelling, who would imagine that the institution itself were subverted? In the east, conjugal servitude has ever been more absolute than with us, and polygamy legally established. Yet, who will affirm that marriage is unknown in the east. Every one knows that regulations respecting property, domestic government, and the causes of divorce are incident to this state, and do not constitute its essence.

“I shall assent, said I, to the truth of this statement. Perhaps I may be disposed to adventure a few steps further than you. It appears to me that marriage has no other criterion than custom. This term is descriptive of that mode of sexual intercourse, whatever it may be, which custom or law has established in any country. All the modifications of this intercourse that have ever existed, or can be supposed to exist, are so many species included in the general term. The question that we have been discussing is no other than this: what species of marriage is most agreeable to justice—Or, in other words, what are the principles that ought to regulate the sexual intercourse? It is not likely that any portion of mankind have reduced these principles to practice. Hence arises a second question of the highest moment: what conduct is incumbent upon me, when the species of marriage established among my countrymen, does not conform to my notions of duty.

“That indeed, returned she, is going further then I am willing to accompany you. There are many conceivable modes of sexual intercourse on which I cannot bestow the appellation of marriage. There is something which inseparably belongs to it. It is not unallowable to call by this name a state which comprehends, together with these ingredients, any number of append-

ages. But to call a state which wants these ingredients marriage, appears to me a perversion of language.

"I pry'thee, said I, what are these ingredients? You have largely expatiated on the non-essentials of matrimony: Be good enough to say what truly belongs to this state?"

"Willingly, answered she. Marriage is an union founded on free and mutual consent. It cannot exist without friendship. It cannot exist without personal fidelity. As soon as the union ceases to be spontaneous it ceases to be just. This is the sum. If I were to talk for months, I could add nothing to the completeness of this definition."

The gentleman before mentioned remarks thus on the above dialogue: It was deemed proper to give a full and front view of such speculations, to show the arguments which ingenious sophistry might urge against any existing establishment, and at the same time, how little mankind will be benefitted by the substitute recommended as a cure for such evils. That imperfection is written on the features of humanity is certainly a discovery which has no claim to novelty. If we consider the operation of a law merely to discover what instances of partial injustice may arise, and overlook all the benefits resulting from its adoption, nothing is easier than to point out such defects. With the aid of eloquence nothing is easier than to represent such defects of gigantic magnitude, and sufficiently forcible they may be thought to warrant the repeal of such a law. But when such ingenuity is pressed upon this point to provide a substitute for what it demolishes, it commonly terminates in an evil tenfold more alarming than what has been so violently declaimed against. The misery of such speculations is, that their projectors do not see the end of their own arguments. The sanctity of the matrimonial tie, may give rise to instances of partial injustice and oppression for which the law has provided a remedy. If these instances are urged as valid objections against matrimony, they may be made to appear formidable and convincing; but the alternative proposed is, indiscriminate intercourse. It is made dependent on the will of the parties, their caprices, their jealousies and their antipathies, reasonable

or unreasonable, which they themselves would be the first to condemn afterwards, when they shall unite and when they shall separate.

Had the proposition thus advanced by this writer been stated to him as a substitute for the ceremonial solemnities now in use, he would have been the first to have anathematized the introduction of such dangerous novelties. He would have rejected the amendment to the matrimonial code at once, for none entertained higher ideas of the sanctity of such obligations, than this very author. But following his own speculations, intent only on finding fault with existing establishments, in order to make himself consistent in the sequel, he is compelled to plunge headlong into the very difficulty he would have wished most sedulously to avoid. Such is the fate of those who let speculation loose without discretion. They are compelled to justify what in heart they abhor, and to defend enormities that shock their moral sense, before they are conscious of their being pressed into such service. It is now too late to retreat, and the error must be fairly brazened out, or what is still worse, it must be admitted by the speculatists themselves, that they harboured wrong ideas on the subject. It is curious to observe how the zeal of Charles in this inquiry relaxes, as soon as he states the substitute. He feels the press of the difficulty, and not knowing how to abandon the subject in the first place, or to maintain it in the next, abruptly concludes his argument altogether.

This silence, this guardedness, this expressive caution, introduced at the very moment that the author is about substituting a remedy for all the evils, which he declaims so eloquently against, is perhaps the best comment on the impracticability of his amendment. The author seems to abandon his own project in disgust, and while he is, when writing, forcibly impressed with the miseries attending our present mode of solemnizing the matrimonial rite, he seems equally convinced that it is better to tolerate than to adopt the alternative, which he himself proposes. On this subject, where it might be supposed he should lay out his whole strength, he shrinks from the investigation, and dreads the consequences that result. The substitute which he did thus propose, in all probability convinced the author himself of the sophistry of his own arguments.

Of this treatise Mr. Brown remarks in his journal, "I have completed a third and fourth parts of the dialogue of Alcuin, in which the topic of marriage is discussed with some degree of subtlety at least."

He then goes on to speak of a romance which he began at this time, but never finished.

"When this was finished, I commenced something in the form of a Romance. I had at first no definitive conceptions of my design. As my pen proceeded forward, my invention was tasked, and the materials that it afforded were arranged and digested. Fortunately I continued to view this scheme in the same light in which it had at first presented itself. Time therefore did not diminish its attractions. The facility I experienced in composition, and the perception of daily progress encouraged me, and my task was finished on the last day of December.

"I hardly know how to regard this exploit. Is it a respectable proof of perseverance or not? Considering my character in its former appearances, this steadiness of application might not have been expected. What is the nature or merit of my performance? This question is not for me to answer. My decision is favourable or otherwise, according to the views which I take of the subject. When a mental comparison is made between this and the mass of novels, I am inclined to be pleased with my own production. But when the objects of comparison are changed, and I revolve the transcendent merits of Caleb Williams, my pleasure is diminished, and is preserved from a total extinction only by the reflection that this performance is the first. That every new attempt will be better than the last, and that considered in the light of a prelude or first link, it may merit that praise to which it may possess no claim, considered as a last best creation.

"It was at first written in an hasty and inaccurate way. Before I can submit it to a printer, or even satisfactorily rehearse it to a friend, it must be wholly transcribed. I am at present engaged in this employment. I am afraid, as much time will be required by it, as was necessary to the original composition. I

do not fear but that I shall finish my labour, barring all extraordinary accidents."

This work, of which the author speaks so slightly, now remains in an unfinished state, and has never seen the press. The reader may be gratified by extracts. It is done in the mode of familiar correspondence between two feigned characters.

"Cannot you come to me Jessy? I want you much. I long for you. Nay, I cannot do without you; so, at all events, you must come. That is no objection, my dear, for methinks I hear you plead, good girl, as you are, your mother's infirmities. I tell you that is no objection; she can spare you for a week or two surely: at least, a day or two. She will not miss you for so short a time. Besides, Jessy, do not be partial. Recollect you have a friend as well as a mother, and some attention is due to the first as well as the last; and I want you more than your mother can want you. You will be of more service to me than to her; quite as much, at any rate. I have a better, or an equal claim to have you with me altogether; but you see I urge not my claim, and I hope you will give me some credit for moderation. I do not ask you to come and stay with me constantly, but a week or two, at this delightful season, I must have.

"And this I ask for your sake, as well as my own: Nay, for your mother's sake I ask it; for has she no interest in your gratification? Has she not a direct, and even a selfish interest in your health; and does not your health as well as your pleasure call for some respite from household and chamber duties? These sweet airs, and this lively green, a twilight walk with me under these tall elms; a cessation of all your cares and trials for a week or fortnight, or month—your health would be improved; your spirits recruited, and you would return to her bed-side ten times more able than you now are to nurse and amuse her.

"It must be so, Jessy; and now, that point being settled, when will you come? Name the hour, and Tom shall call for you.

"Would it were so, sweet Jessy, but for all I am so peremptory and positive, I fear that I shall not prevail on you to give me a single hour of your company here. Have I not, before now, besought you to come; have I not called on you, on purpose, and, with the carriage at the door, with footman by, and steps,

down, ready to receive you, argued and intreated in vain? In truth, Jessy, thou art an obstinate girl. More than once has your strange attachment to home made me half angry with you; and *more* than half displeased, if you now refuse, shall I be. I shall quarrel with you outright—I believe.

“To no purpose, I fear, shall I reason with you; yet, upon my life, Jessy, I think I have the better cause. Your friend stands quite as much in need of your fostering kindness and your wisdom as your mother. Nay, I firmly believe, that if there were scales to weigh your usefulness respectively to her and to me, my scale would prove the heavier. Can I not convince you of it? *Conviction* is all you want, and if I *could* but convince you I should have you here in a trice. Shall I try? I *will*, but no. I will *not*. Have I not already tried; ineffectually tried?

“You do not *love* me, Jessy. That is the secret cause of your reluctance. You are not just to me: you are not—*grateful*. Forgive me, sweet girl. I have not forgotten how this imputation once affected you. What excuse then can I make for repeating it now? Why do I ask your pardon? Yet I know that placable spirit will grant my petition for guilt a thousand times worse.

“If you will come, all shall be well. I will get the summer-house in order, on purpose. You shall dine, sup and sleep with me alone. I will have you all to myself. So come, begs, prays, intreats your

SOPHIA.

“I am almost afraid to write you, in my present humour. I would not, methinks, have you know how passionate I can be: yet let sincerity, at least, be my virtue. Let me not pass on you for better than I am.

“You have taught me, indeed, not to be afraid of you. So prompt as you always are to forgive, to palliate, or overlook my faults. My own heart reproaches me, but your lips distil nothing but sweetness. No fount of bitterness is that heart. And hence I suppose my unreserve to you. I cannot bear reproaches from another. The less can I bear them if I deserve them. Contempt, surely, I deserve, but, nevertheless, I would not be contemned. I cannot bear contempt, Jessy: and so my actions I hide; my feelings I disguise, to all the world—but you; for

you echo not back my self-censure. My frankest avowals call not forth your scorn : nothing but soothing praise do you ever whisper in my ear.

"Yet how is it ? You do not seem to see my conduct as I see it : you reason and feel in a different manner in relation to my own errors. Yet this difference brings not your sagacity into question with me. It creates no doubt as to your discernment. Nay, so far from weakening, it carries higher my reverence. I would fain know how all this happens, Jessy.

"Your own conduct too ! so unlike my follies and caprices ! conveys so strong, though indirect, a censure of mine ! opens my eyes still wider on my own defects ! makes me still more despise myself ! more uneasy in my own reflections.

"At times I am angry with you ! I deal in ungenerous reproaches ! but your gentle heart is never responsive to such discords. My fits of impatience, so absurd, so inexcusable in my own eyes, trouble you not. How they lower me in my own estimation ! Yet, strange to tell, by some inconceivable adroitness, you extract from them new motives for tenderness and gratitude, and yet lower not yourself ; only raise yourself higher in the scale of excellence, and in my veneration.

"Truly, truly, thou art an admirable creature, Jessy, and I love thee, that I do. A friend ! Till this age, and till I knew thee, I never had a friend, and never shall have another, of either sex ; for surely the world contains not such another creature as thou : at least, in the form of *man*. Single then, Jessy, shall I ever be ; for he whom I marry must be more than lover : he must be my friend.

"Less perfect thou, less placable ; less unrepachable ; I should not bear thee near me. I should disdainfully and angrily cast thee away. But now that thy words soothe, while thy conduct only upbraids me : that humiliation, though increased by reviewing thy deportment, is properly my own act. I can love thee with a pure, may I not say with a generous affection.

"But now, what has become of the peevish and reproachful humour in which I began this letter ? Have I talked it, have I reasoned it away ? It is certainly—much abated. Not quite disappeared however. I am yet a little displeased with you. Shall I give way to, or struggle against the impulse—to scold

you for—unfriendliness—for ingratitude?

“After such representations, I really think, Jessy, you might have come, for a day or two at least, if merely to evince a disposition to oblige me. The same disposition on my part, has not been wanting. All I wanted was ability. And that from your perverseness, not the slightest boon from me will you allow to contaminate your hand.

“This refusal is obstinate, is *proud* in you, Jessy—but my passion is again at work. I must lay down my pen. I shall only expose myself to your compassion.

“How little am I fit for a world like this. So full of disappointment and vicissitude. Two or three hours, when all nature was smiling upon me, have I been the prey of vexation. Resentful, sullen and unhappy!

“I saw the carriage coming up the avenue empty. I allowed my desires, and not my reason to dictate my expectations. So I set my whole heart upon your coming back with Tom.

“Tom brought me the letter. I snatched it from him, and resolved to disburthen my heart somewhere—What kept you so long, saunterer? Creeping, creeping; were you trying legs with a snail!

“Why Madam! a snail, Madam, said the simpleton, confused and at a loss what to say.

“My conscience rebuked me. Well, well (in a softer accent) go thy ways, and make more haste in future.

“I read thy letter cursorily. It hushed not my tumultuous feelings. I went to the harpsichord—Let me try, said I, what music will do. But attention was refractory and vagrant, and I dashed both hands upon an half score keys at once—“Stubborn things! never in tune for three minutes together.”

“I went to my closet. Thomson’s *Seasons* was the volume. Let me try the poet by the only sure test. “Let me look at nature and at him by turns.” But it would not answer. No salutary occupation had charms for me, who had planned out walks of conversations with you, for the remainder of the day.

“I’ll walk by myself, and read her letter again “on the bench under the bank.”

“It was an hard struggle, and demanded several readings of thy letter, to lull myself into any degree of complacency. Thus Jessy, do I lay open before thee, the frail, very frail heart of thy friend. Think well of it, think better of it than I do, or I shall not know how to bear my own reflections.

“How is it, with such difference between us, that we are friends? In what respect am I like you? In every point we are contrary. In fortune, in external condition, how opposite! You, just above naked, hungering, unsheltered poverty: but not above the necessity of toiling with your hands for bread. Not exempt from menial, servile offices. I rolling in affluence, not raising an hand for any other end than my amusement, leaving to others the most trifling personal offices.

“You, passing your life, under a low roof, in a dirty and obscure suburb, supplying the ceaseless wants of an old, infirm and blind mother, who requires hourly attendance, and will not allow you to consult your recreation or health, by a day’s absence from her chamber, once a year. I moving about, in a circuit of a thousand miles, at my own pleasure, as the whim of the moment instigates, always in the enjoyment of lightsome halls, and lofty ceilings, and wide prospects.

“You, lonely, unobserved, unvisited, untalked about, an object to the hurry of forgetfulness, to the frown of scorn. I with the casual advantages of fortune, and birth, wooed, flattered and caressed by hundreds, placed uppermost at banquets, balls and visits.

“Thus far the undiscerning and vulgar will suppose that I have the advantage, but let the effects of our different situations in our respective characters be marked, and the advantage will no longer be given to me.

“With all the means of happiness, I have it not, but whose thoughts are more cheerful, whose days are more serene than those of Jessica. She is a meek, quiet and humble creature, while I am arrogant, restless, captious, always looking forward with despondency, backward with regret. Jessy, in her humble sphere, is constantly promoting the comforts and enjoyments of two beings, and derives happiness herself from the success of her efforts, while I, *with all appliances and means to boot,*

live neither to my own content, nor to the ordinary satisfaction of another.

“ Shall I carry farther the comparison? In form, in features, in stature, we have nothing in common, our education has been different. All these showy arts and graces which a master can teach are mine. You have none of them. My father has endeavoured to make me a writer and reader. For this end he has furnished me with rules and set before me models, and I believe they have profitted me something, but how little, with my languid resolution, and fickle temper, have they contributed to my happiness.

“ Jessy, on the contrary, is mistress of no elegance, music, elocution, painting, embroidery are none of hers. She knows nothing but the basting and hemming needle, and leaves to others the imitation of flowers and faces, while she accommodates her own and her neighbour’s wants, with worsted stockings and russet petticoats.

“ Having passed her youth among people nowise bookish, she has little or nothing of that sort of knowledge that books give us. Reading is a task to her full of tediousness and difficulty.

“ While Sophia is prating in a gay circle, charming an audience by a lesson of *Scarlette*, reading some descriptive part, lolling on a sofa, or musing in an orange grove, Jessy is plying the laborious needle in her sorry chamber; kindling sticks beneath a tea kettle, sweeping cobwebs from a cellar ceiling, or dressing her helpless mother. What a difference! Yet, that the interval between us should thus, in some sense, have disappeared; that I should have found thee out in thy unpromising obscurity, and have fallen in love with thy unostentatious merit, and that Jessy should lay those scruples aside, that interfere so much to keep at distance, persons in our situation, and given me her love in return, are all very strange things.

“ Ah! Jessy, since the little crosses to my humour that I meet with have such effects upon my temper, how should I have behaved, if fortune had placed me in thy situation? I sometimes feign to myself the consequences of such a change, of descending from this ease, this luxury, this homage, this idleness, to such a fixed, absurd, monotonous and servile condition as thine is. In not one particular can I conceive that my conduct, in such

a change, would resemble thine. Quickly would my keen regret, my mortified disdain, my humiliating drudgery kill me, and the contrast between thee and me, at present so complete, would be no less so in the change that I have supposed.

“ I expected, when I sat down to write, to work myself gradually into better humour, and it has happened so. I forgive thee, Jessy, for the pain thy refusal of my invitation has given me ; but only on one condition ; that you make me some amends by writing often. There is no duty, I presume, to prevent that. That you will not come, proves indeed, that you love mother better than me, but that you do not write, and write frequently, will prove that you have not the least affection for your

SOPHIA.

“ ’Tis true, my friend, Courtland offered me his vows, but at a time when my heart was still rent with anguish, when my tears still flowed for the death of my sister.

“ At another time and now perhaps, it is possible ; for he is an excellent man. I could almost love him for his treatment of his mother, and is he not my brother’s friend ? Besides, his conduct has been uniformly generous. He knew well what a strenuous, what an irresistible advocate he might have had in my brother, but he forbore, at my petition indeed, to intimate his wishes ; and this forbearance, in some sense, served his cause with me.

I think, Sophia, that I want not generosity, I want not power to discern and to value true merit ; Courtland is one whom I always revered, and whom now, that I am somewhat relieved from afflicting recollections, I might, perhaps, if his former views should return.

“ From you, Sophia, I will hide no emotion of my heart, I rely upon your honour and your delicacy. It is impossible that you should make an unwarrantable use of this confession. And yet, I should never have made it, even to you, if I did not know that Courtland’s views with regard to me can never revive. His affections have since been disposed of to one here far more worthy than the humble Jessy.

“Nay, methinks, I could almost wish him to know my present thoughts. Surely they are innocent thoughts. Not to have them, how obdurate, how blameably insensible would that prove me to be? And if I have, and ought to have them, why not own them frankly? To my brother, to him, to every body.

“Heaven is my witness, that my unacceptance of his offers flowed not from pride, from stupidity, but only from regard to him and you. I am wrong, in the assertion, I believe. It *was* from pride, the pride I took in vying with him in generosity. For who was I, to be beloved by so noble and enlightened a spirit as Courtland, *poor* portionless girl as I was, ignorant, illiterate, without any of the gay embellishments and witching graces that conscious merit and an opulent condition bestowed, and which Courtland used to meet with in his places of gay resort, his brilliant circles?

“Was I to look down upon this man, so much older and consequently so much wiser than I? Such graceful humanity, so sweet an aspect as he had! No, I was not worthy of him. I told him so, and wept when I told him so. My grief was no common grief, but sprung only from belief of my unworthiness.

“But do not mistake me Sophia, I did not love Courtland then, nor do I love him now. It was because I did not love him that I grieved. Love would have made up all deficiencies, but if I married, I should have carried to his arms every thing indeed, gratitude, reverence, but not love; and what but love could have made me worthy of Courtland? What else could drive from my remembrance the image of my sister? At least, what else could hinder this from engrossing too much of my thoughts. What else could give me the ability together with the zeal for knowledge, which in time, might bring me nearer to the level, and more entitle me to the respect of such a man?

“Methinks, Sophia, this passion would work surprising changes in such creatures as thou and I. Yet let me apply the remark only to myself. As to my Sophia, she is already every thing that love could make her. Where my sweet friend, gettest thou thy looks, and thy tones? It is inconceivable how any one can be in your company, and not love. But men in general I suspect, are a grovelling, sordid and perverse *mob*; else they could not, so many of them have seen, have seen my Julia with

indifference; for you tell me that no one ever loved you, but that by the way, I do not quite believe.

“ But ah! I have found out the cause. You do not talk and look to every one as you do to me, especially to men. You turn aside those blue eyes, or glance at them austerely, as who should say, “ thou art my enemy.” Yes, yes, that must be the cause, to be sure. What a simpleton was I to miss it so long.

“ And yet, Sophia, I dare say if the truth were known, every heart has not been callous. For all your guarded looks and circumspect attitudes, many a one, I doubt not, sighs in secret for my friend. And she knows it too, I warrant, but she is *so* scrupulous a judge. With her all is not love that sighs, nor will she own it to exist in any heart, which she deigns not to admit to fellowship with her own. And truly thou art right my friend. He cannot love you as he ought, who is not your peer in merit, and where are we to hunt for one gifted so divinely as my Julia?

“ Will you pardon me? I was going to mention *one*. Rumour was very busy with your names, and the tale wanted not plausibility. I scrupled not to believe all that was said, nor to wish much more. Your delicacy has, I suppose, made you silent to me, and I ought not to be talkative; yet the spell is on me and I *must* talk. For what do I take up my pen, but to tell you all my thoughts? and have not I, but now; set you the example of this very sort of ingenuousness?

“ They say, Sophia, that Courtland was in love with you, yet not till after his failure with me, and how surprising is that, since he grew up under the same roof with you, and must have seen you without disguise and so intimately. But why say I that his love for me went before?

“ His conduct spoke differently. He was no doubt so long withheld by disinterested regards, but they at last yielded, as they ought to do, to consciousness of merit. So he wrote to your father, it seems, stating his hopes, yet like me who scarcely hoped, and was prepared to return fidelity and gratitude, even if refused. It was an admirable letter.

“ Indeed! why, you have not seen it, have you?

“ I have, or something that pretended to be it. Courtland showed a copy to my brother before it was sent, and your father showed what he received to some friends, and so rumour got

speedy hold of it. I need not say more, for without doubt you know the whole affair, and now that you see I know something of it, will you oblige me by telling me all? And here I will break off, to give you opportunity. Adieu.

“ Were it not for this pathetic earnestness I should think you in jest. Can it be that the story is absolutely new to you?

“ I fear then I was wrong in mentioning it to you at all. Alas! how easily, how undesignedly, may one do wrong.

“ But you call on me for particulars. I had better suppress them, I think, but that I suppose is to be cautious too late. So I will even tell you, as well as I can recollect them, the contents of this letter. Indeed I recollect them perfectly, and will give them to you, word for word. These are they.

“ I am greatly at a loss in what manner to address you, even now, that repeated trials have convinced me, that my subject can only be discussed in a letter.

“ Never I trust shall I forget the obligations which I owe to your generosity. All that I am, my education, my character, my fortune, I owe entirely to you. These benefits, perhaps, a different mind would labour to forget, and it would be still more natural to avoid adding to their number, but as to me, I think I may venture to affirm that I never shall forget them.

“ In what terms shall I offer a proposal, by your assent to which, all former obligations, great as they are, will be unspeakably surpassed, though by your rejecting it, they will be nowise diminished!

“ When I reflect upon the beauty, accomplishments and features of your daughter, and upon my own defects, I am prompted to bury my aspiring thoughts in oblivion, since should your consent to my seeking her favour be obtained, what slender hopes can I have of success in my application to her, and would it not be unwise and rash to risk exciting your indignation, for a purpose which should I be so happy as to gain your consent, may

still have insuperable obstacles to encounter, in the pre-occupied affections, or invincible indifference of the lady herself?

"I should not be a man, however, I should not deserve that rank in your good opinion which I have hitherto possessed, if I did not somewhat trust to my own integrity, if I did not ascribe to myself that merit which lies chiefly in discerning and revering another's excellence, and that gratitude which is ready to devote all my life, in return for the preference of a virtuous woman.

"I intreat you to believe that this request is not founded on any the slightest proof that your daughter regards me in any other light than as her father's friend. Need I say that I have scrupulously avoided making myself an interest in her heart? Since to do this, before I had gained her father's promises would be equally inconsistent with my sense of justice, with my gratitude to you, and with my regard for the happiness of the young lady herself.

"I cannot say more, but that, however you decide upon this occasion, or any other in which heaven may give you power over my happiness, I will not question the rectitude of that decision, nor will it be possible for me to be any other than your grateful and affectionate

"What have I done my Julia. I am almost frightened at myself. Fearful, very fearful am I, that I have done wrong.

"Having heard something of this kind whispered, I took my brother to task. I knew he was master of all Courtland's secrets. So my brother, after some hesitation on his side, and much importunity on mine, showed me this letter, and now have I showed it to you.

"You may suppose how anxious I was to know the answer. I knew you then only by repute, but what a character for sense, beauty and accomplishments was yours. And deeply as I revered Courtland, could I help fervently praying for his success? This was your father's reply.

"You will perceive Courtland, that I need not comment upon your letter, after I have told you that my daughter considers

herself, and that all my family considers her as actually betrothed to her cousin Watkins, who has been a few years in Europe, and whom we now expect shortly to return to solemnize his marriage. I will only add, that I wish he may possess in all respects, a character similar to yours : I shall then as truly rejoice in my son-in-law, as I now do in my friend.

L. F.

“ And now, let me repeat, what has your Jessy done? Surely had I thought you ignorant of this affair, I should never have mentioned it. There were, indeed no motives for your father’s disclosing it to you, but since he mentioned it to others, it was natural to suppose that he had made it no secret with any body, or at least that the rumour, which must first have sprung up somewhere in your own family, had reached you.

“ I was always afraid till now of mentioning any thing of this to you. You set me an example of reserve which I thought it became me faithfully to follow. This engagement with your cousin too, I dared not to hint at it, without some encouragement from you to do so. And yet, communicative as you were to me, in all your most intimate concerns, and professing to hide nothing of the least moment that had ever befallen you, and thinking it impossible that affairs of this kind, so important and so recent too, should be forgotten, I knew not how to think.

“ What unhappy misapprehensions sometimes occur? You cannot imagine in how many ways I tried to account for, and excuse what I could not but think a breach of sincerity in my Julia.

“ But are you not, indeed, my Julia, as your father has asserted, actually betrothed to your cousin? He said you were, that you and all your family considered it as a positive engagement. I should be deeply grieved if this disclosure should involve you in any perplexity, yet what ill consequences can it produce?

“ Are you serious, Sophia? Can you indeed, think so lightly of the filial duties, your father you say has no right to dictate your marriage choice! A dubious and dangerous opinion, believe me my friend : reconsider this subject, I beseech you remember the sacred injunction to those who decide for another. Put yourself beforehand in that other’s place. Before you determine on a

parent's claims, recollect yourself a moment, and imagine that you are the parent.

"And so, it seems, this conduct of Courtland, which I so much admired for its magnanimity, does him injury in your opinion. Being shortly independent in fortune, and a woman in age, you think it became him to treat you as a being under self-control only.

"How different, indeed, did he treat me, on a similar occasion. He knew that my brother would zealously concur with his wishes, as soon as they were made known; and would, perhaps, second them with his injunctions or remonstrances, but he disdained to owe success to any thing but his own merits, and generously spared me all that pain which could not fail to follow my repugnance to my brother's will, or my compliance with it.

"With regard to you, he sought, and surely could expect nothing from your father but his permission to address you. Had he been your equal in birth, fortune and the like; had he been bound to your family by no personal obligations, he might, without impropriety have treated you as he treated me; but this, as the case stood, would not have been right. *I think so.* In your situation, I should have looked for such treatment from a man of probity. Any attempt to prepossess me before my father's concurrence was, at least, acquired, would have grieved me much.

"If young persons like each other, in spite of parental dislikes, let them persist in their choice; but why not do this openly; why not set so much value on the will of their parents as, at least, to know what it is; and try my arguments or intreaties to reconcile it with their own. A choice of this kind, disapproved by parents, may be best on the whole, but certainly its benefits are immeasurably increased by their approving it.

"I do not know Courtland's opinions fully. I suspect he would not accept your love, were it offered him, without your father's sanction; and yet if he were placed in such a situation, that the parent's inclination, or child's happiness must be sacrificed, I am puzzled to think how he ought to decide.

"Let me thank you, my beloved friend, with tears of true pleasure for this letter. How happy am I in your love and confidence. How zealous shall I be, and how proud to deserve it.

" You cannot think, for I cannot describe my feelings, when you first made advances to me, and offered me your friendship. Your first visit, how unlooked for ! And your manners so affectionate and affable ! Your inquiries so tender and free to me that was so absolute a stranger to the world and to you. While you staid, I was in a constant flutter of surprise. This made me awkward in accepting and returning all your kindnesses. To be sure, thought I, when you were gone, this is some freak of the charming girl ; as she has some inquiry to make or some end to serve, which she found no opportunity of making on this visit ; but she will not surely repeat it ; especially if it were made for my own sake, for how coldly and ambiguously have I behaved ?

" But you came again very soon : the very next evening, gay, charming and blithsome as ever. Do you love, Sophia, to give pleasure to the lonely and forlorn heart ? You do ; then how much have you been gratified by your intercourse with me. A generous, a disinterested delight has been yours ! Your efforts have been amply rewarded by their own success.

" What a change have I experienced since I gained your love ! A warmth, grateful and delicious, a softness which I am not rich enough in words to call by its true name, has come back again to my heart. *Come back again*, I say, for once I had it, or something very like it. So much so that I cannot tell where lies the difference. 'Twas not the emotion that I felt for Marianne or Sally. In this there is something more extatic : more of gratitude, I think, and admiration. Their love you know was due to me. It began at my birth, and grew as I grew ; besides, though very good, they had no remarkable or dazzling excellence about them ; such they were as we usually meet with, plain in person and untutored in mind.

" No ! what I feel for you I have not felt since I was sixteen, yet it cannot you know be love. Yet is there such a difference brought about by mere sex—My Sophia's qualities are such as I would doat upon in man. Just the same would win my whole heart ; where then is the difference ? On my word Sophia, I see none ; but that's no proof that none exists. A million of truths there are, no doubt, that thy unsagacious friend has never seen and never will see.

“How cold was once my heart. How dreary was my loneliness! Yet I was not conscious of it. I was not discontented. The change which your friendship has made, is not by pains removed but by pleasures added—pleasures how ineffable!

“Ignorance, I believe, my Sophia, is the mother of some kinds of happiness, at least of quietude: how can we regret what we have never lost, and to lose it, we must have it; and by having it only can we know its value. I am now in all external respects, just as if I never had a sister, but how different would my feelings be, if in truth, they never had been born?

“How my mother shrieked over a breathless son who died in childhood! But suppose the lad had never been born, then, as now, she would have had but four children, and she would not have lamented that they were but four.

“Pleasure and pain, my dear Sophia, strangely run into, and mingle with each other. Ignorance, I said, is the mother of content, but I would not for all that be ignorant. Contentment, methinks, is no desirable thing; pleasure, indeed, cannot be had, without the risk at least of accompanying or ensuing pain; but this mixture of bitter and sweet, is better than the utterly insipid; better than the finished, tasteless potion of indifference.

“But why do I call the broken bonds of sympathy pain? Why, indeed, do I call them *broken*? Death severs us not from those we love. They still exist, not in our remembrance only, but with true existence; and if good, their being is an happy one. What more should we wish, and why should life, with all its cares and maladies, be prayed for, either for ourselves or our friends?

“My friend removes to the next village, or he crosses the sea, but I am not much unhappy even at our parting, and that sadness is soon succeeded by a sweet tranquility. He is living and he is prosperous, and forgets me not, and sometime I shall see him again, and that consoles me in his absence, but how blind is my sagacity.

“How know I that he lives—that he is virtuous and happy, that he gives me still a place in his remembrance? Is he not a mortal creature, and encompassed therefore by the causes of sickness and death, beset by temptations, and liable to new affections that exclude the old?

“ But intelligence is brought that he is dead, and why should I weep! I grieved that he has gone, from perishable feverish life, to blest eternity, where maladies of mind and ills of body betide him no more.

“ But I have lost him. No, while he lived I had lost him, indeed, for the space between us was so wide that I saw him never, and heard from him but rarely, but now has he not come home to me? and do not I hourly commune with him? Am I not sure of his existence and safety, for my friend was good; and is he not more present to my thoughts, and more the guardian of my virtue and partaker of my sympathy than ever?

“ But I shall never see him more.” Indeed! and whose fault will be that I must die like him; indeed it is uncertain when, but *then* we shall meet. And what then but my own unworthiness; my own misdeeds shall sever us? Nothing but guilt will divide us from each other dead, though virtue itself was unable to unite us living. And how invigorating to my fortitude, what barrier against temptation is that belief?

“ No, my Sophia, death is no calamity to virtue, to dead or to living worth. Our wailings for the dead, are breathed only by thoughtless or erring sensibility. Is it not so? I would not affirm too positively, or too much. I know *so* little! yet I can’t but think that many of our woes are selfish woes.

“ Yet I mourned for my sisters: but rebuked myself while I mourned. Such reflections as these comforted me; but they would not come at first, nor would they stay long, till time had soothed me into some composure. Now and then at thoughtful moments, when taken, if I may say so, unawares, my tears gushed anew and my breast was agonized by sobs.

“ Still have I, as I long have had, something that may be called sorrow, but a sweet, a chastening, an heart-improving sorrow. Most dearly do I prize it. For the world I would not part with my sorrow. Glad am I that I once had sisters, and I have them still, but I would not have them any where on earth.

“ It seems to be, Sophia, that the only true grief is connected with guilt; every other has so many gleams and respites, and is so transient, and carries in its train so many after joys! But

remorse! The sense of shame deserved, the weight of human and divine indignation—*that* must be agony indeed.

“ But how have I been thus led on! When I sat down, I designed a very different letter, but one is carried forward insensibly, when the heart knows no restraint, and to thee, Julia, mine knows none. ’Tis now too late to say all that I meant to say, but another packet will serve as well. Adieu.

JESSICA.

“ And will I continue to love you? Will I live with you at Wortleyfield? Indeed I will my Sophia. I will share with you in your retirement.

“ But, alas! And why this pang? My mother, Sophia! while she lives, I must be her fosterer, and her death only can make it possible to join thee in thy sweet retreat.

“ It must come sometime to be sure; she is old, and it must come soon. I cannot deny this, but I am able sometimes to forget it, and I *love* to forget it.

“ I did not tell thee, my friend, that *I* was the sage that I had painted. I look forward to the death of one so dear and the tear will start. My heart will ache when I sometimes look back. Yet I want not fortitude. I hope while my reason fully exerts itself I shall never, I believe, despond. Neither in the foresight or the sufferance of such evils, evils which no virtue in me can elude; that owe their truth to no degeneracy in myself or my friends, shall I want the needful consolation. I thank my God, who has as yet, never suffered me to want it.

“ I will live with thee, Sophia, but thou knowest the conditions; put thyself in my place and let me hear thee say—Many, many years may our scheme remain unaccomplished.

“ But what a scheme is this. You cannot, surely, be in earnest. No, no, Sophia, thy stars will never permit that. And yet the very causes that attract a multitude of wooers, will, in my friend’s case, obstruct their success; thousands will solicit her hand, but who can deserve the boon?

“ How much to be regretted that your equal should never be found! You do not think so, you prefer, or *say* you do, the

single life ; but that my Sophia, shall I say, is one of your errors. Yet before I say that, I should know perhaps, the grounds of your aversion.

“ You despair of finding one that will please you ; while that despair lasts, I see not how you can think otherwise than with preference of singlehood, and indeed I too, am almost desperate on your account, yet if such a one should offer and be accepted, fervently should I rejoice in my Sophia’s destiny, for wedlock is a blissful state. Excellent and happy as thou art, my Sophia, far more so wilt thou be in the character of wife and mother.

“ This Watkins then is nothing to you. Methinks, I pity him for sufferings to come. Returning with such hopes can he see my Sophia and not love her ? But is not my friend a little forward ? To predetermine the rejection of one, merely because your common friends have decreed your union, without regard to any thing but family aggrandizement. * Not a good motive, perhaps, if it were the single motive, but it cannot be the single one with your friends. Kindred, fortune, equality of birth, contiguity of estates ought surely to weigh something even in your scale, but especially in that of your friends. Worth, talents, generous temper, equable deportment, love, may likewise be required by both, and these, though not the only weights, may and ought to be, by far the most ponderous.

“ Personal qualities, however, may be every thing with you. The other may not claim the least regard from you, but if these extensive recommendations will not promote your cousin’s suit, they surely ought not to be obstructions to it.

“ But you it seems are contented. My brother say you, Hannah ? Very well. I will be there in a moment. I will hear what my brother has to say, Sophia, it is not often that he visits us at this hour ; something of moment must bring him, and then will I be back again to my pen.

“ Since our correspondence began, I have been an indefatigable penwoman. Something may grow out of this in time. And yet, as I said formerly, it is not the mere writing or prating, the merely putting words together with the lips or pen, that

tends to improve ; quite the contrary I fear with me and my careless manner, in which at every step, method must be broken and perspicuity be outraged.

“ Yet I write every day, I think with more ease. I mean not as to words or thoughts, for those that come I take, and you know every child, just mistress of her tongue, has a ceaseless volubility, but merely as to management of pen and fingers. This grows continually easier with me. But I was going to tell you what occasioned my brother’s unseasonable visit.

“ What say you, Jessy, said he, somewhat abruptly, to an addition to your family—to a boarder. A boarder, brother ! Let me rather ask in my turn what you say to it ? Nay, ’tis for you to decide. If you can reconcile yourself to such a charge, such an enlargement of your family, it may not, perhaps, be ineligible as to the person. But who is the person and what will he expect from us ? all you know must depend upon that. I scarcely know how to describe him ; he is one of middle size, has modesty, reserve, is a stranger, lately arrived from Europe, knows no one here ; yet he has the air of one not meanly born, nor penuriously educated. He wishes for a snug, quiet, humble abode, in a small, frugal and decent family. The thought occurred that a single person, who chose to live in his manner, might be no insuitable guest to you ; he is willing to pay well, much more than the additional expense of his entertainment, and that will be worth considering by you and mamma. What say you to the scheme ? Yes or no as you please. If we decline, the accommodation he wants will easily be found elsewhere. Why, brother, I cannot answer you immediately. Mamma may not be willing, so long used as she has been to one track, and one round of objects, and indeed, the same is the case with me. The presence of a man and a stranger under this roof, is so great an innovation that—but if the man be modest and compliant, can put up with an humble fare and worse cookery, and especially if you approve his character and recommend him, I see not what objection can be made. But surely he cannot be content with our frugality ; we shall be obliged to enlarge our scheme of living. No, no, I should not have thought of it had any thing of that sort been needful, you have had but too much trouble on your hands already. I would be much more willing

to lessen than increase it, but the customs of Colden, that is his name, are very remarkable, as to lodging and diet, and are so singularly plain and simple, that you will scarcely be conscious of any addition to your household.

“ You have only to set before him, morning, noon and night, at your own eating hours, a pint of milk, in an earthen or tin porringer, with a cut or two of just such brown bread as you make already for your own use, in the little back room above, so tight, airy and clean; let a blanket be laid upon the sacking bottom and his bed is made. To all other particulars he will pay the due attention himself. But who is this man? Where did you light upon him ?

“ I sometimes call, you know, at Philipson’s; I was there a few days ago. They propose it seems to leave the city, and mentioned to me their anxiety to procure suitable accommodations for one that had lived with them for the last three months, and to whom their removal from town, hindered from any longer giving entertainment. Who was he? I asked.

“ They could tell nothing but his name, and relate his habits. They were such as I have just mentioned; they were simple and always the same. He talked but little, spending his time abroad chiefly, or in his chamber. What were his engagements abroad? No business they believed; he went out at different hours, merely it seemed, for recreation, as they and their neighbours had sometimes met him strolling in the fields. He was always sedate, and sometimes had an aspect bordering upon melancholy, spoke affably and gently when he spoke at all, but seemed to entertain a preference for solitude and silence. What company did he keep? None at all they believed. No one visited him; they had never seen him in the company of others; his demeanor had always been so mild that they loved him much, and though his accommodation cost them little or nothing, he had offered of his own accord, and had punctually paid the highest price. For their own sake, as well as for the sake of profit they were loath to lose him, but it could not be avoided, and they were only anxious that he might be accommodated as much to his mind, somewhere else.

“ These particulars laid some hold on my curiosity, and reflecting on the situation of your family, I thought that his

residence with you, might chance to prove highly and equally agreeable to all parties. Being then in his room, I requested them to call him down to me; he came at the summons.

“His appearance was very prepossessing. At first view I should have judged him to be under twenty-five; but there quickly appeared a steadfastness and forethought in his looks, inconsistent with so immature an age. His manners were polished and graceful, in no ordinary degree.

“Phillipson mentioned to him my ability to point out to him a suitable lodging. I described to him your household and dwelling, and told him that I doubted not my sister’s willingness to entertain him on the same terms as the Phillipson’s had done.

“His countenance assumed a less thoughtful air, and he seemed to receive my offer with pleasure. He explained his own modes and expectations, and requiring a few more particulars respecting you and your economy, cheerfully assented to the scheme. I promised to speak to you about it immediately, but had no opportunity before now. I have seen him to-day, and he says if agreeable to you, he will take possession on Monday night. You know, our mother, in such a case will leave the decision to you, and so what say you?

“What can I say! Your judgment must decide for me, brother. If you think it proper.

“I see no objection to it I confess.

“You say he is a stranger in the city.

“So it seems, but he has made himself so, by his privacy. Phillipson’s family know him, as well as long domestic and curious observation of gossips, old and young, breeched and petticoated, can make them. They praise his gentleness, sobriety, and circumspection. His countenance speaks very strongly in his favour with me; so do his manners and words, they exact respect from me. Never saw I dignity so visible.

“Well then let him come, I will be prepared for him on Monday.

“And now, Sophia, let me ask myself why I rehearsed this family dialogue to you? As if whatever chanced to occupy my thoughts, deserved a place in your’s. You will not perhaps comprehend how so small an incident should acquire importance, but you know the humble, solitary and obscure life which I

have always till now led. Shut up in this cottage singly with my mother, and having no intercourse with the rest of the world, except with my brother, and with your charming self, to become all of a sudden, inmate with a stranger; a man too, of no mean deportment; his real character and past adventures unknown: no wonder that I feel a little disquiet; some fluttering expectations; as if entering on a new scene.

“ I know I shall be extremely desirous of obliging our guest, but doubt I shall be awkward, and be either too reserved from dread of offending, or too officious from the desire to please. How are little things magnified by inexperience, and how does my ignorance degrade me from the womanly sedateness and address of eighteen, to the childish blunders, and timidities of twelve!

“ But again, what is all this to you? I will say no more upon this trifling subject, and cannot return, just now, to that which I left upon my brother’s entrance. So adieu.

“ What a sweet encourager art thou, Sophia! Can you truly say that my prating pen constitutes your chief pleasure? Can you sincerely request me to continue the little tale of all that for whatever reason, finds an interest in my bosom?

“ And yet, now I think of it, this is acting but like yourself; and as I should applaud myself for acting were I in your circumstances. To be thus surprised at proofs of condescension and sympathy in my friends; is it not confessing indirectly that I did not expect to find you as good as you ought to be? Fie upon me for an envious, or at least, a negligent observer!

— Methinks, they that are themselves good, would find so many inducements, and advantages in goodness, that specimens of virtue in others would never make them stare, as I do, and exclaim. They would only feel surprise when instances of folly or vice occurred. Yet it is not so with me, though without that experience which teaches us, perhaps, not to judge of others by our own hearts! Can it be that I judge thus hastily of others, by my own feelings? I believe it is.

"I say to myself, Sophia is generous, kind, affectionate. Strange, that she is so, since I in her situation should be otherwise. I should be arrogant, disdainful, selfish; and thus, unthinkingly, do we afford a criterion of our own character, in the judgment that we form of others. A just punishment upon us I think.

"And yet if the matter be a little more deeply considered, that inference may not hold: are we not taught self-diffidence, self-blame, and is not charity to others chiefly built upon our belief of the strength of those temptations that have made them wicked, and which had we been exposed to them, would have had the like effects upon us? Why else are we so earnestly warned to watchfulness; to rely upon our divine helper, and to lay not more stress on deliverance from evil, than on freedom from temptation?

"But why to thee, my friend, do I thus run into the moralizing strain? Poor and crude must be my thoughts, on subjects like this, and not worthy of my Sophia's notice—Hold! is not that another proof of my misjudging selfishness? Is not this to give to my friend that arrogance which I should possess in her circumstances, and that all my intercourse with her and observation of her conduct, show to be foreign to her temper?

"It is, and so I will henceforth if I can, have done with apologies. I will talk to you without reserve, and be apprehensive of nothing less than of tiring or disgusting you; and now to return to what I will own, fills much of my thoughts.

"This stranger has not come among us yet. My brother is to bring him hither this evening. The poor Jessy is in tremors. And for what? Because it is a stranger that is coming. 'Tis partly that but not all. If the stranger were a female, I should not, methinks, have these unquiet feelings. A female one can love and trust, and take without reluctance or misgiving to one's confidence; but a *man*! That is a different case, Sophia.

"And yet my brother is a man; so was my father; and Ambrose, who daily shows his honest face within our door at morning and eve, excites no apprehension or uneasiness. And what more is this Colden? But he comes not as a visitant; he comes to take up his abode with us, to eat and sleep under this roof; besides I never saw his face before, and my brother says

he is young ; loftily reserved ; gravely dignified ; severely beautiful ; and such a one is coming, not to see us and to talk an hour and away again, but to live with us. O dear ! I wish almost, that I had not consented to his coming.

“ I do not like to be looked at too closely, for too long a time. In all guises and attitudes, a man’s scrutiny is painful, embarrassing. I shall never be at ease while he is present, that is certain. I shall think him always gazing at me, watching my looks, and trying to read my thoughts.

“ No, I will not consent to his coming. I will plead the trouble of a new member of the family. I will make my mother object to it. All about us is too humble and too coarse for such a guest. ’Twill never do. I wonder at my brother for not seeing its impropriety.

“ And yet it is too late to make objections now. It will appear girlish and capricious ; it cannot be avoided, and I must make the best of it, I believe. And truth to say, these doubtings and misgivings are very foolish ; they rise in vanity or inexperience, and at this age ought to be trampled on. Let him come then, if he will.

“ I have made all things ready for his reception. The *garden room* will just suit him. It was mine, to sit in only, and to work. My chamber adjoins it, but I must sit and work there no longer now ; but I do not like that. How shall I part with this sweet recess ? When they were alive it was my sister’s work room, but now it seems, I must enter it no more. A stranger will possess it and a *man* ! How chilling is that thought my Julia !

“ Besides my own bed room is *so* near ; a slight partition divides them, for the two apartments were once the same, and the two doors are not ten inches asunder. I cannot go on ; I cannot move about ; I cannot stir a step, but—

“ O dear ! O dear ! It must never be. Why did I not think of these things before ? In time to prevent—but it still is time. It *shall* be time. I will run away to my brother’s this very moment, and tell him to excuse me to the stranger. Lay down, pen, the while.

"I am quite disconcerted, Sophia, my brother was gone out, gone to Phillipson's, they told me, for the hour fixed upon is come. I had wasted so much time in writing, that I knew not the exact time. So I hastened back again with new fears, lest they should come and I be out; my brother might well wonder and be angry at my absence, when the hour had been so accurately preconcerted.

"They had not come, however, so here am I again at my pen. 'Tis some relief; a sweet consolation to be writing this, to thee, my Sophia; 'tis so like talking as we used to do, side by side at the very window of this garden room, that now must witness these delightful interviews no longer; and that, forgetful creature that I was, escaped my thoughts. Thou and I at these precious hours, used to withdraw thither, and converse without fear of interruption and intrusion, but now—

"Cost what it will I will revoke my consent; and yet it will look strange, whimsical, capricious, at the very time when he has actually come. But how, where shall I receive my friend when she comes, if dispossessed of this room?

"I will not part with it, that I am resolved; and seasonably resolved, for they have come. Two person's by their footsteps; my brother's one, the other a stranger's. They ask for me, and here comes Hannah, with their message of "Tell Jessica I want her."

"Ah! my friend! he has come indeed! I had not presence of mind to declare my resolution, so that he has actually taken up his abode with us.

"What changes may one short day make in one's condition! Methinks I am not the same as when I last wrote, yet things have not been quite as I expected: but I will tell you every thing in order as it happened.

"By the way, who would have thought that I should ever have become so fond of the pen. My brother looked in just now—Writing Jessica? This is a new passion, indifference to books is usually coupled with antipathy to writing. I am glad

to see it, my dear, and hope when one is come, the other will not linger long behind.

“ So do I brother, but Jessy always loved to talk when her heart was full, and any one would listen to her, and this is *but* talking.

“ Not quite true, Jessy. Somewhat more was needed, than a full heart and docile listener. The last thou always had'st in me, but you wanted what only your charming correspondent could furnish, and may you value the new found blessing as it deserves.

“ I join in thy prayer brother. And Sophia, it is true. To any other than my charming correspondent, I never could have fretted thus without reserve—But this again is rambling from my theme; to return to it then:

“ This is my sister Jessica, Mr. Colden; a good girl, who will never want the will at least to oblige you. I curtsied low to what I supposed was a low bow from him, for I could not look up, nor utter any thing like welcome. I had a pretty speech ready, that by oft repeating I hoped to have by rote, for this occasion, and I had not forgotten it, but to articulate a syllable was not in my power. How is it, Sophia, that I who have so much of an ideal kind of magnanimity; who so much value gracefulness in others, should yet be destitute myself?

“ To look at him with no immodest steadfastness, with intelligence all benignant and smiling; the utterance ready and fluent; in words all promptitude, in gestures all harmony! That was my previous wish, and I laboured for it but in vain. What cowardice to tremble, shrink, and look down at the scowling wrath of a fellow creature. What folly to be thus dismayed in the presence of benignity and kindness, merely because they sit upon the brow of a *man* and a *stranger*!

“ But so it was: thy Jessica was thus cowardly, thus silly. My brother saw my weakness, and his eye, when mine chanced to steal a glance at him, rebuked me for it. He endeavoured by easy conversation, to reinstate my composure.

“ I utterly forgot my objections to his residence with us. All were swallowed up in these new tumults. I struggled hard to look up, but could not, for fear of encountering his glances. What a simpleton was I, sheer vanity 'tis plain. To imagine

myself the only object in the room claiming *his* scrutiny, yet till now, I had not thought myself vain.

“ My brother desired him to look at that *spar* on the mantle-piece. In doing this, thought I, he will turn away his eyes from me, so I will venture to catch a glimpse of him.

It soon appeared, greatly to my relief, and somewhat to my humiliation, that no object attracted less of his attention than myself. He set me down at once, no doubt, from the childishness of my demeanor, as an ill bred girl, and therefore, not meriting a second glance.

“ I looked at him while he bent down his head to examine the stone. The candle stood beside, so that all its light fell upon his countenance and form. My view was momentary, and yet it left nothing I believe, to be supplied by after observation, I have seen him since in different attitudes, but they are all new positions of the picture which I saw at first.

“ But why all this minuteness? Did I never see a man before? Never, my Sophia, in the present situation. Had I met him in the street, in a public room, or a stage boat, none of these emotions, none of this cautious yet eager scrutiny had happened; for then you know there had been no need. But he was one with whom I was to *dwell*; whom I was to see the livelong day, with whom I was to sit in the same room, and at the same board, whose accommodation I was to study, and whose constant and near approach would bring about conversation between us. Surely I had some interest in examining the face and manners of one, in this relation to me.

“ And I did examine them, for he left me at full liberty to do so. After one or two glances stolen at his face, while he talked to my brother, I perceived clearly enough, that he did not think of me as of one present: never looked towards me, but as it seemed by chance, and never spoke to me at all.

“ Shall I own to thee, Sophia, that this neglect a little mortified thy proud friend! but it was of some benefit; it placed me somewhat at my ease. I was able to look at him attentively and listen to his discourse. My throbs disappeared, and my fingers sought no longer employment, by drumming on the arm of my chair.

“ Yet I ought not to be mortified, I think, for this man is not sullen, contemptuous. He forgot me but not, it seemed, because of my own insignificance and littleness, but the greater excellence of those objects that employed his attention. And why should he think of me? Never before, Sophia, did I discover so much vanity in my heart, but I am almost cured of it already; it has all gone away, indeed it has.

“ Why, repeated I, as I had put up my hair before the glass, going to bed, why should he think of me? A mere moveable, a drudge, a something useful in putting sticks together for a fire, a machine to pour out tea, to make whole a rent garment—that is all.

“ As to person, what am I? Women have charmed merely by their looks, their symmetry, their speaking eyes, their snow-white forehead; but these, well-a-day, are none of mine—poor unsightly, brown, diminutive thing that I am, what are my pretensions?

“ But what a rambler am I? more than usual I believe. How devious and volant is my quill! but I must restrain myself to some degree of method; else, instead of pleasing, I shall tire you; darken and bewilder by confusion, instead of ranging my ideas and my incidents in radiant files, and beauteous order. O! what a charm there is in order, with its lightness and charming, from the airy spell of Sophia’s harp, down—to my pots and kettles.

“ But now, with all my thoughts untold, I must end my letter for the present.

“ I dream often of you, Sophia, dream but half as often of thy Jessica, and she will be happy.

“ No, I will not be incoherent for all that. Are you not afraid of spoiling me, Sophia. But yours shall be the penalty, for since you ask it, you shall have it in abundance.

“ I used to write on the table below, but I do not like to write before him; he may ask to see what I write, perhaps, and that will place me in a distressful case: so I removed my *pine board* to my chamber, and neatly fitted it to my window case; glad I

and of the change. It is so much for the better, here it is light-some, and my window overlooks so pleasant a green; and here there is such quiet, such security; for I bolt the door. In going to and from his chamber he comes so near as to brush against my door, and methinks I would not be seen by him, or be thought by him to be within, when he passes to and fro. I am little in danger of detection, I believe, for this is the third day of his residence with us, and yet he has not spent an hour at home, but at night and at meals. 'Tis true, the weather has been fine. The case may vary when it turns to rainy, bleak and cold. We shall see; but I have not told you what happened at our first meeting have I? No. Well then take it now.

"He talked much to my brother; yet is not talkative: yielded to the impulse of my brother's questions: talked I thought not from inclination, but complacency, as if he would have been, not more perhaps, but equally satisfied with being silent.

"Harry, you know, loves to converse in his way. A great dealer is he in moral distinctions, deeply read in history, and an endless speculator upon government. Methinks, Colden is like him in these respects, he listened with so intelligent an attention, and what he said, when my brother called upon him for his opinion and waited his replies, was so accurate, so just.

"Do not smile at me, Sophia, I know what you would say. Well do I know my own ignorance; the fallacy of all my decisions, but I give you my thoughts as they come, not as true, but simply as mine.

"I told you that I loved to be a listener of rational conversation. Here, you may well suppose, I listened eagerly; all was so new. Harry, though my brother, I had scarcely ever before heard in this kind of discourse, and Colden's looks, tones, sentiments, were so little like the few whom I had heard talk!

"Well it was that he did not sometimes glance at me. As bold he would have thought me now, with my staring eyes, as at first, he might have thought me timorous.

"My brother, at length, it being late, rose to go. Now did my tremblings and embarrassments return. To be thus left alone with him, and obliged to say something! and to end the conversation so soon!

"My brother retired, and a pause, very painful to me followed, but he ended it by saying, shall I take this light? I will go if you please to my chamber. Yes, yes, stammered I, and Hannah appearing just then, I directed her to show him the way to his apartment. I had scarcely voice enough to return his—"good night."

"Commonly, I no sooner lay my head upon the pillow, than I am in deep sleep. It was not so to-night. Such a throng of images, such misgivings, may I call them, at my heart—But my language, Sophia, is very poor, for half my feelings: I want words. Shame upon me for profiting so little by your conversation and your letters! All I have, indeed, I owe to you, but that all is too, too little.

"Often have I wanted suitable expressions, but never more than now, I think, for I never felt thus before. My situation now had no parallel in my past life.

"How silly are these feminine timidities! Often have I heard them described as attendant upon solitude, darkness. 'Till now I never understood the describer; 'till now, I say, for surely these sensations answer to the picture so often drawn of panick; restlessness; dread of we know not what; phantastic misinterpretings of noises and shadows.

"But the object of my dread was not solitude or darkness: these were ever friendly to my peace. To be *alone* have I often thought, on entering my little chamber, what comforts, what serenities does it bestow: except when my Sophia has been thought of, then has even solitude, with all its safety and its stillness been irksome. Much as I love to be alone, Sophia, I would always exchange my solitary pleasures for the blessings of thy company. My pillow has its charms; sweetly do I rest my cheek upon it, but far more sweetly would I lay mine upon thy cheek.

"You honoured me once you know, with your company for one night. How delighted was I, yet how ashamed to introduce you to my humble cot. Shall I ever forget that night! we talked till past three; and such unbosoming of all your feelings, all your pleasures and cares, and what you called your foibles; spots in the sunny brightness of your character. Ever since that night have I been a new creature; to be locked in your arms;

to share your pillow with you, gave new force, new existence to the love which before united us : often shall we pass such nights when thou and I are safe together at Wortlyfield.

“ But how do these remembrances seduce me from the present scene !

“ Why these panicks, my friend ? Was I not still alone and safe ? Certainly. What could I fear ? But this man under the same roof ; in the room adjoining : his footsteps and the very movements of the furniture overheard, or capable of being so ; for *this night* I heard nothing ; all was still long before I came up. I took care of that.

“ I rebuked myself for these terrors, but they staid throughout the night, in spite of my—“ Begone.” Sometimes they withdrew or momentarily subsided, when the late conversation recurred. I took a new view of his features, and ran over all that he had said. The talk was cursory and miscellaneous ; how did every word call up feelings of courage or despondency in my heart ; chiefly of the latter, for they more often talked of things of which I was wholly ignorant, than on subjects I knew aught about.

“ How very gross is my ignorance, how limited, how idiot-like my faculties ! Have I common sense, I wonder ! Never saw I so clearly ; never despised I so much my own ignorance, as on this night. Never did my soul droop so much under this load of self contempt.

“ How have you contrived, Sophia, to hide my ignorance from me so long ? But I never saw you in company with others ; and your friendly pity was no doubt, careful to adopt your style and your topics to my childish capacities ; yet you love me, you write ; you talk to me without reserve ; in spite of my deficiencies, you treat me with respect and tenderness. How does it happen ?

“ You come to be delighted too with our subjects of discourse. You freely discuss them ; and at every moment I see your superiority to me ; you instruct me without distressing or permanently humbling me. Your regard for me raises me as high as your proofs of excellence have otherwise a tendency to sink me. The higher you are above me, your esteem exalts me the more, for it places me in some sort, on a level with yourself.

“ But we talk together in a different manner from Colden and my brother. We talk of what each has seen and felt. The comments, the reflections you make, the specimens of wit, address, and force of mind are what distinguishes you so much in my eyes. We neither of us go out of our own sphere; not to know what you know, may not always be to my discredit, since I cannot be in your house, and surrounded by your company, while I am mewed up in my own cottage. Daily incidents, and dialogues, display of character you meet with, are your subjects; and these, from your way of life, so different from mine, must be far more numerous, various and important, and the improvement you thence derive, and the reflections that are thence suggested, must unspeakably excel mine.

“ But Colden and Harry talk not thus. They speak of persons and things which they could not see with their own eyes; thousands of miles off, or living ages ago; events they talked about, not affecting the happiness or fortunes of one or a few insignificants, and not limited to a year or two or life or two, but governing the fate of nations and worlds, for centuries of years. And all the time how shrunk am I into my little despicable shell!

“ I knew nothing of the Regent Orleans and his parliaments: the causes of the late war: the siege of Havanna and Prague, and the good or bad conditions of peace that were offered and received. I don't know what kind of rule it is that the English at home, exercise over the English in America. I don't know how far it is, and what it is, (I suppose it to be sea), that divides one from the other. How should so unread a simpleton as I know these things?

“ And what is worse, I never shall know them. To know any thing, I fancy we must begin soon, we may dare to look forward after twenty-two, nay after four score and two; but what can she expect, who has not begun till after twenty-two?

“ I can no more at present.

“ He rose by day dawn. I rose soon after him. I am seldom such an early riser, but I could not sleep; so I sat down at my window till my mother called.

"His breakfast was set in due season. Nothing said but a cold "Good morrow," as he entered seeing the arrangement of my table, and I seating myself at it, he also sat down.

"The bread broken and the cup lifted not like one that was hungry, nor, as I at first feared, like one that disrelished his meal, but simply as if thought was too busy to allow much attention to the cravings of nature. His eye fixed upon a knot in the table, or glancing through the window with all the unsteadiness of inattention. So deep in thought was he that I ventured to observe him closely.

"Thy pencil, my friend, might show this face as it ought to be shown. My words cannot. I am sorry to see it as I see it, as I see it in his absence would answer the painter's end. Yet by candle light, it looked, I know not why, with softer lineaments than at the breakfast table. The *spar* he said was beautiful; he had never seen a specimen so highly polished; pleasure sparkled on his features, and they somewhat gleamed with the social spirit, his heart appearing to be opened by the previous conversation with Harry.

"Now there was an air widely different; not boisterous nor sullen, nor yet austere. Far from any of these was it, yet I cannot tell what it was. But surely it denoted not a mind at ease; the soul within was not at peace with fortune. Once or twice, looking through the window, but in such a way as showed him wholly unobservant of the objects before him: I saw his brows folded and his eyes glistened: then he would recover his attention to things around him, and lift the cup to his lips, that for some minutes before had been idle in his hand.

"What, at that moment, Sophia, was he thinking of? Methinks I would give a great deal to know. It was a sorrowful strain. His fortune must be singular and mournful, to make him choose this way of life. To have no company, no business of any kind, to shun discourse as he was said to do, at Philipson's, with all mankind, not to talk to any of the family though good people: me, he might naturally overlook and think not worth a word, but *all* others he equally kept at a distance.

"Here he is, an exile from some foreign country; not accompanied by any of his kindred or friends: he must have some

relations; young as he, his parents, it is likely are still alive. He must have sisters, perhaps, Sophia, he has a wife.

"What would I give to know his true situation? He is not married, one would think, for would he not be accompanied by his wife? Could any calamity induce her to desert him? I am extremely anxious to discover the truth; but how? he will not tell it me himself.

"He quickly dispatched his breakfast, and spent the morning in his chamber. I suppose, because it rained. I was busy as usual at my needle. I wanted to sit in my chamber, but I was unwilling to go up while he was in his room. It was a foolish reluctance to be sure, but I could not drive it away.

"I was thinking all the time of this man. How different are my thoughts now from what they used to be before he came! Then I was in a settled calm, vacant of all emotion, and pondering chiefly on past events, but the present seems now to fill up my whole soul.

"After dinner, the weather clearing up, he went out and returned to tea, after which he went out again. The two last meals passed like the first, without a syllable uttered by either, and the next day was but the counterpart of the day before.

"Whither does he go? out of town, Philipson says; but for what end? Merely for the sake of exercise and meditation. That must be the end, to be sure, for what else can it be!

"My brother came last evening to see him, but Colden being abroad, sat an hour with me. He inquired how I liked my guest?

"I told him all that I had observed and thought about him, and asked him, in my turn, what was his opinion.

"He is certainly, said he, a remarkable man. He has education and refinement. His knowledge is extensive and of the most valuable kind. He is a proficient in several languages and sciences, and talks of the affairs of the world, like one that had not acquired the knowledge at a distance or at second hand. Yet there is a perplexing mystery about him; nobody in this part of the world knows him. His aversion to society may be his habitual humour. It may proceed from a deeply rooted melancholy, occasioned by some recent and great disasters, or it may arise from conscious guilt, from terror of detection.

" Good Heaven ! brother, what do you mean by that ! From guilt !

" That is one conjecture ; not, in itself, probable I own, but perhaps, not less so than others.

" But what guilt can you conceive ?

" None. It is a bare conjecture. I pretend not to specify what guilt, or to point out the true cause ; as to what he has been it is impossible to form any plausible guess ; but it is evident that he is learned, amiable and accomplished, and I shall labour to make him more sociable.

" Just then our guest entered. I was delighted to see the friendly manner in which he greeted my brother. Another conversation ensued, which ended with an invitation from Harry to dinner the next day.

" He appeared not to have expected this, and was, I thought a little embarrassed : he paused. Harry then added, I invite you not as a formal guest, but as a friend, and merely to show you the way to an house, where I hope you will be a frequent and familiar visitant ; you will therefore find only my own family, and the same frugal fare that is provided for you here.

" This pleased him, and he readily consented to go. To-day is serene and bright. He went out as usual, and not being to return at noon, will leave me alone, I suppose, till night.

" But why, Sophia, do I talk to thee of nobody but this man ? Why scarcely think I on any other subject ? 'Tis the novelty of this change I suppose, and so will disappear in a few days or weeks, and I shall be well pleased when it does so. My present feelings are unpleasant ; I feel I know not what of disquiet and perplexity. I am not, if I may so say, at home to myself ; I sometimes wish that we had never been troubled with this guest. Things are not so orderly, so private, so tranquil, as they used to be under this roof, when my mother, my Hannah and myself were its only tenants ; but the evil, if it be one, is without remedy, so I must make the best of it. Adieu.

" I can hardly believe that my poor prate can give you pleasure, Sophia, but since you say as much to be sure it must be so.

Thy praise is a sweet encourager. Without it, much as I have come to love the pen, I should not indulge so often my scribbling vein.

"By the way, is not this sudden fondness for writing, in one so awkward at the quill as I am, a little surprising? Nothing will serve but once a day at least, must I seat myself here, and scribble. If I miss doing so, it is like omitting a customary meal.

"My mother and household affairs employ most of the day, but my mother sleeps an hour or two, after dinner, and retires for the night, at ten. At these times I am left to myself, and I used to spend them chiefly in the garden room, but now I hie me to my own chamber. The pen lies so near and so enticingly, my thoughts are so busily engaged with thee or with this new-comer; and this being the only way to converse with thee, I mostly yield to the temptation, and lay by my work. What I begin in the afternoon, I finish, if I can, at night.

"But do not think me an idler, Sophia. There are other times of the day, when I am as diligent a workwoman as ever, but I always told you that sewing was my entertainment, and I applied to it so much, not because it was absolutely necessary, but because I had nothing else to do, or nothing else that I liked to do; now I like writing better, and so I write, yet should not do so, I suspect, if my Sophia were not thus kindly eager to read what I write.

"You tell me to relate all that I think, and all that occurs respecting our guest. Nothing new has occurred. Every thing is uniform. The same silence at meals; the same wandering abroad, and the same seclusion in his chamber as at first. 'Tis very strange, Sophia. I must needs say, I do not like it at all; but how shall I help myself!

"I want him to talk to me a little; a word or two, methinks, he might oblige me with, as we sit opposite at table. If it were only, "Your bread is well baked," "Your glass is a clear glass," it would be something better than total silence, methinks.

"But if he has lost his tongue, in my company, he might show some attention by his looks, at least. But he comes and goes, and sits at dinner, just as if surrounded by unconscious tables and chairs. He looks across me as it were, as his eye roves

about, just as if I were a flitting shadow on the white wall, or a two legged pine table that could move itself.

"This is not polite, surely. 'Tis not kind. A kind temper would not let him act thus superciliously. To be wrapt up in his own gloomy thoughts, to treat a human creature, whom he sees so often, and a woman too, and young too, and not talkative or forward, I will venture to say, as if she were a thing inanimate.

"He deems me, without doubt, a simpleton as I am; but how does he know but that I have some sensibility and some knowledge? This cannot be found out, but on the trial. He looks for nothing in me congenial with his own views and pursuits; and nothing, indeed, there is; but are men to act with no view but to *receive* pleasure? Ought they not, sometimes, to aim at giving it?

"I, a poor girl, ignorant, forlorn, might be greatly benefitted by the conversation of such an one as he. That condescension would so flatter me! I should be made better and wiser by his talk; and not only that, but I should be gratified, delighted, by such notice; and he himself surely would be no loser. These melancholy musings that afflict him now, would be driven away by more cheerful images: thus would he secure himself as much pleasure as he gives to another: but he does not perceive this, morose, incommunicative creature that he is.

"I am displeased with him, Sophia. I blame myself for consenting to his coming. All before was so serene, so unruffled, but now—

"He has come in, I see, and our supper time is arrived. All was ready for Hannah to bring in, and she was to bring it in as soon as he came. So I must go down. Yet that is an idle formality; he can dispatch his meal as well in my absence as my presence: nay, would be better pleased, I warrant you, that I should stay away: and I *will* stay. He shall eat by himself this time, and I will write on as if such—

"No. I want not to eat this evening, but see that he is well served. Hannah came up to tell me, all was ready, but I will not go. I am, just now, a little sullen. I believe I could not look on him as kindly as, perhaps, I ought. I will write away my spleen before I see him, if possible.

"Yet I cannot write. What ails me, Sophia? My fingers are unsteady. My heart flutters and misgives me much. I will take to my needle, and see if that will pacify its tremours.

"Ah! my friend! I was much to blame a while ago. Now, do I see my fault. Could I be so peevish and absurd! What a change, will a few minutes, will a single word make in our feelings! Why see I things, and judge of things so differently at different times?

"Where's Jessica?" said he, after a second or third sip, and looking at the girl, that stood at the window.

"She's up stairs. She does not want any tea to-night.

"She's well, I hope, anxiously rejoined he.

"O, yes, very well.

"Not quite true girl—my mind was not well. A bad passion possessed it, but, strange, how all vanished, in an instant, when these questions of our guest were told me by Hannah. This was all he said. Satisfied, it seemed, by her assurance, he relapsed into thoughtfulness, and having drained his bowl, went up to his chamber. I heard him coming. Into what new flutters was I thrown. My door, carelessly, had been left open and he must pass it going to his own, and so could not help seeing me. And what if he did! What timorous creatures are we, women, for I suppose the rest of girls are like myself in this particular; there seems a kind of nature in it.

"My apprehensions were groundless, as it proved. What apprehensions? I don't know. He passed the door, not observing me, and soon afterwards Hannah came up, and whisperingly told me what he had said.

"Now did my cheeks glow and my heart flutter indeed. How did I upbraid myself, for my folly; my arrogance. I am not then a mere inanimate, a senseless piece of furniture in his eyes. He can think of me, can ask if *I am well*, and with an anxious tone ask it! While I, an obdurate and selfish creature, was accusing him of treating me with scorn, and absented myself through resentment; and for what?

"Because, my highness, forsooth, had not been noticed;

had not been courted to talk ; because my little humours and caprices were not watched and gratified. And who am I, that my existence or my health should be of value in his eyes, what have I done to prove myself better than the dirt I tread on ! In what *am* I better !

“ Compunction has a very sharp sting, my Sophia. I feel it now, for the first time, I believe ; yet still I feel it not alone. There came pleasure along with it ; a pure delight, not less new to me, than my remorse ; yet why was I pleased ?

“ My mother calls. Methinks I would be spared attending on her just now, for I want to write on, but thou art a selfish desire, and so I banish thee. To-morrow will be here time enough.

“ Now that I have communed with my pillow, let me ask again, why these few words of our guest pleased me so much. To find him with some humanity about him, is truly, no such extraordinary thing. Another proof of my short-sightedness, Sophia ; always surprised at instances of kindness in another. Whence could I get such bad thoughts of mankind, I wonder ? I copy from my despicable self, no doubt, yet not in this case, for should I, in Colden’s circumstances, have behaved so monstrously ? I think not.

“ A taciturnity, an inattention to me so uniform ! What else could I infer, but that he cared not for me a straw ? that my absence or presence, my death or life, were equally indifferent ! But I see now my mistake, I am glad of it, yet why *so* glad ? I cannot tell why, but I am very glad notwithstanding.

“ Now I long for breakfast time ! I want, methinks, to atone for my foolish misbehaviour last night. No doubt, on seeing me again, he will ask me concerning my health, and my absence from the tea table. I shall be puzzled for an answer. To be talked to by him ; to have those eyes of his fixed upon me, such eyes, Sophia ! They often made me think of yours, yet how unlike are they to my Sophia’s ! Thine so intelligently sweet ! Such a blue serene ! But his !—But here again my friend, I want thy words. Fain would I describe them if I could.

"But if he should look at me, and ask me, what shall I say? How shall I look? Now again these flutters, these burning cheeks! Surely he will think me quite a fool, for I shall want articulation. Confidence to look up will be denied me. Then will my perverse fingers fall to twining with each other, to drumming the window ledge, to pulling out threads from my handkerchief. Did I ever think that I should prove such a simpleton?"

"Yet I must say something—but I hope he may not speak to me. My appearance alone will answer his inquiries. Yet what is the atonement which I thought of, if he speak not? What can I do, but sit in stupid silence at the same table, looking at him and from him, just as *his* looks give me leave! What a despicable trifling exhibition. In another I might laugh at it, but that I should be the actor makes me weep.

"How as I come to know myself better, do I more and more despise myself? What will at last become of me, if I go on making new discourses of my imbecility at every change of situation? Such a wavering, timorous creature! Something must be wrong within me. If I saw clearly what is right to be done, should I feel all these hesitations and reluctances in doing it?"

"What is there in this man to make me fear him? Why falter and shudder in his presence, more than in another's? Why shrink and be abashed because he speaks to me, and yet be discontented and resentful when he forbears to speak; to wish his notice, when I think he will not give it, and tremblingly to shun it, when he offers it? I could beat myself for this folly.

"But he has come, and breakfast waits. Shall I go down? Half a mind not to go: shall feel so awkwardly: yet not to go! How will that look? What excuse—a future meeting still more difficult. Fie upon me! "Yes, girl, I come."

"I needed not be so apprehensive, not I. Speak to me, indeed! The same as if an empty chair stood there. Not a syllable besides a faint, half articulate, *fashioned-of-itself* "Good Morning." All in a hurry I, eating very fast, pouring out small portions of my tea at a time, and clattering cup with saucer as

I poured, and sipping *nicely*, all to show no leisure to hear him, to deter him from speaking to me.

"Yet all these impediments were needless: mute as a stone, no sign of the slightest inclination to open his lips; eye always gazing vacantly through the window, or cast up ceiling-ward. He finished sooner than I, and left me at the table—Here did my resentments swell my heart; the tears would not be kept down!

"Such was he at dinner too, but there I felt not disappointment. I was prepared for his neglect. How mournful has been this day! all luminous abroad! quiet the air, serene the sky, and its azure checkered by a thousand silvery effulgencies! but none of these things affected me as once they did.

"The livelong day uneasily sat I at my work. My mother's afternoon repose allowed me to retire hither and I did so, but not as yesterday, to my pen. I could not write. Indignant, sorrowful, mortified, perplexed, was ever creature so absurdly inconsistent as thy Jessy?

"I am not happy, yet why not? What has happened to make me different from the being that I was a month ago. I am different; quite an altered creature, Sophia, an unhappy alteration too.

"I can do nothing; I have not patience to write. The deepest humiliation has seized my heart, and the pain it gives me is more than I can bear. I must take myself to task.

"I will walk I believe; 'tis long since I visited the river's pebbly shore, and the twilight now is gratefully cool, serenely solemn. 'Tis a long time since I rambled there. All my habits have been changed of late. I will try to muse away my wandering hours as I used to do. To feign myself beside my Marianne and Sally in their evening stroll.

My heart has grown unfaithful to their memory. I have not thought of them once these three days. So sweet a calm as their gentle apparitions, flitting about me, used to breathe over my soul! Will it never be so again! I hope it will. I will try for it at least.

“ How could you alarm me so ! I am *half displeased* with you ; I think, my tumults are scarcely hushed yet, though an hour since I read your letter. In *love* Sophia ! What an hateful, what a frightful intimacy is that ! for at first I was startled, terrified, and whence my terror ? Surely my heart pleaded not guilty to the charge. But made thus abruptly, thus earnestly, and by one whom I so much revered ! could I help a sudden dizziness ; confusion of thoughts ; just, I fancy, as if wakening on the brink of a precipice.

“ I verily believe that I shrieked ; startle and tremble I certainly did, and dropping the letter, buried my face in my pillow, for I had not left my room when Hannah brought it me. Had thy father written it, to tell me that his darling child, had ventured too far into the whirlpool, in her evening bath, and was swallowed up forever—Somewhat so do I feel now.

“ O my friend, add not to my unhappiness by thy scorn ; despise me thou must, for am I not worthy to be so, but not with *this* contempt. Not so very silly yet, assure thyself my friend, so very wicked. In my mind ’twould be *wickedness* to love ; yet that would be a term too good for me. To *love*, Sophia ! not indiscreet, or rash or wicked, should I be in such a case, but *lunatic*, my Sophia. The very imputation almost makes me so.

“ Surely you forget that Colden has not been here ten days ; turn over again my late letters ; mark their dates ; no less forgetful too of their contents. What could I have written to suggest so wild a thought ? Why, Sophia, he has scarcely spoken ten words to me, and these the cold formalities of “ good morrow ” and “ good night. ” I have seen him, putting all the minutes of our silent intercourse together, scarcely two hours, and yet thou tell’st me, *I’m in love !*

“ Grant me patience, good Heaven, or give me back the esteem of my friend ! Yet how am I perplexed ! to write so coolly as you do, and call me by the tenderest names ! Yet charge me with what would place my judgement below infancy.

“ I wish I had my late letters to you before me. I would examine them again, and see what has inspired my friend with this thought. Yet, I think I have every tittle of them in me—

mory; and have conned carefully over all their contents; and nothing do I recollect to have said, that could justify you in believing—

“ But why dwell I on so hateful a them ? Why countenance I thus, by reasoning on the matter, so childish a chimera ? Indeed Sophia, if thy suspicion were true, I should hate or despise myself—I don’t know which I should most deserve, certainly both in the highest degree.

For only think, Sophia, on the difference between us ; the distance that severs this man from me ; no eye can measure it, ’tis so wide, where could any body look for a contrast to his air, his visage, his stature, his mean, so lofty, grave, dignified, intelligent, but in thee poor Jessy !

“ As to his mind, little as I know of that, it is clear that we are just as opposite in that respect as in the other.

“ Besides, I know him not. Is not his past life a blank to me ; an utter void ! His mind is full of something, but what that something is, I am quite as ignorant as I am of what is passing in the moon.

“ Nay what proof have I that he is not married ! And to love, Sophia, while that is an undecided question ! think not, I beseech you, so meanly of me.

“ There goes somebody : a man, I guess so by the hat. The fence hides all the rest of him, or *her* ; for possibly it is a woman. The hat you know, is sometimes worn by the lower class of our sex. I have seen it myself, drawing at the cistern or chopping up a log.

“ But it *may* be a man, and therefore I will *love* him. Love whom ? He that is creeping along the outside of the fence there ; a man, I will suppose it to be, on the evidence of the hat.

“ But what know you of the wearer ; is he old or young, married or single, foolish or wise, good or bad, white or black ?

“ No matter. Whoever he be. I am all enamoured of him. I shall die, if he returns not my passion.

“ How now, mad cap ! What’s come to thee ? Hast thou lost thy wits ? Hold thy tongue child, keep thy foolish thoughts at home, and mind thy work !

“ And now, Sophia, tell me if you can, the difference between such a girl, and that girl who, in my situation should fall in love

with our guest. There is a difference indeed, but all to my disadvantage. I know more of Colden than of *him* there (he has just now raised himself above the fence-top, and proves to be a woman: a cartman's wife that lives near) but all that I know are only proofs of our mutual distance; the contrariness of our characters and tastes. So that the folly of my love would even exceed that of doating on the hat. To love the *unseen* who *may* be what we wish, is wiser than to love the *seen*, whose visibles are only unfitness, and which, if even they were *not* unfitnesses, are still so small a part of the being, and a part so unimportant, that he might as well be not seen at all.

"I am no adept in these things, Sophia, I pretend not to be so. True, no doubt, as you say, we are not always aware of the tendency of our own feelings, but here there surely can be no room to doubt. For need I repeat, but I am ashamed to repeat things so evident! It was foolish to dwell upon a notion so phantastic so long. So here, Sophia, I stop.

"I have just parted from Harry, and in a very peevish mood. I am harassed; I am eaten up, I think by my vexation. A thousand times have I wept, the very fall of inanimate nature has often called up tears; but what different feelings occupied those tears, from the tears that are now blotting my paper!

"How harsh is the voice of blame from those we love! I deserve not thy censure Harry, and that comforts me but little! Yet my brother meant no ill; his concern for my happiness only dictated what he said. As his own life does he love his sister, and hence is he anxious for my welfare. Benevolent and tender was he in his councils and his cautions. His intention was kind, of a piece with his treatment of me from childhood up to this hour, and let me only think of his intention and be grateful for that.

"Yet to be thought to need such cautions; not from my brother only but my friend! No, my heart never knew pain till now. Till now all has not been joyous with me; full of glee, lightly did my spirits dance, some ten years ago; but since my childish days have disappeared, I have shaken hands with gaiety,

yet more I may say, was I unhappy. To be unhappy was to be thus, and never before was I thus. Something must be wrong in my behaviour, since on that are founded such suspicions. I must scrutinize mine closely. Methinks I *would* be wrong, for then my friend and my brother would be justified.

“ But why have such a basis for his cautions? Why is my brother thus prone to construe into evil, into guilt, the mystery so studied by our guest? And from any reluctance to admit his suspicions; my solicitude to vindicate his friend, why so perversely infer that I am in danger of loving him.

“ Cannot I revere talents; cannot I pity the unfortunate, without these selfish views? Cannot I be just without incurring such humiliating charges?

“ Thou art wrong Jessy (cried my brother) I reproach you not for what is done. I only caution you against the possible, the future. My caution may be useless. The strength of your mind may serve you against the evil, though no caution were given. So much the better. The caution has done no good, 'tis true, but then, my sister, it has done no harm. Why then be displeased? Knowing too that I mean you only good. Let me tell you, Jessy, the manner in which you have received my caution is—a little unaccountable. A severe judge might think the caution more needful, in proportion as it was heard with impatience. But I judge not severely, I judge as the kindest and fondest heart can judge.

“ Much as I esteem you, Jessy, I do not believe you a witch, an oracle, guided in all you do by inspiration; in all you say by prophecy. After all, you are only a woman. A young one too. Ignorant of most things, and most of all, of the world. You are no match for the cunning of mankind, for the tricks of your own heart; an easy dupe would you prove, I am afraid, to both. How should it be otherwise? Where should you get your knowledge? From books! poor preceptors these of worldly knowledge? But poor as they are, they have taught you nothing. They are not of your acquaintance.

“ From observation! You, shut up in your cottage, holding no converse, but with your Hannah and your *Puss*, what have you observed?

"There again you wrong me Jessy. I am *not* Colden's enemy. I am only my sister's friend. As to what may be concealed under this mystery, I have mentioned possibilities only. They do not influence my conduct, you say. Why, to be sure I am not a girl as thou art, Jessy. I see clearly my way; there is no danger of my reposing undue confidence; my property, my liberty, my life, I shall never need to put into his keeping. I cannot *fall in love* with him. Should he go to the world's end; should he give his affections as a lover and a husband to a Cherokee squaw, my peace will be unaffected.

"But my peace, brother, you think will not be unaffected!

"Pervert not my meaning Jessy, I have spoken plainly enough.

"O my dear brother, what has come to me to merit all this chiding?

"This *chiding*, as you call it, is a creature of your own fancy. Did you love, with all your soul this man, I should not chide you; it would be barbarous to do so. I have said nothing as if I supposed you loved him; I have merely argued on a possibility. That there is danger is suggested more by the knowledge of your tenderness and purity of heart, your guileless, frank, unsuspecting temper, than from any foreign considerations. If I overrate the danger, it is because I overrate your good qualities; because I am too deeply concerned for your safety. If my judgment be clouded, it is clouded by affection. If I raise needless fences and plant a needless watch round your happiness, why is it but because that happiness is so dear to me?

"You are no common girl. Though no prodigy, yet I know no woman of your age who thinks and acts in the same manner. My confidence in you is greater than I would place in another older, more wary, more proficient in the passions than you are.

"Had you not been thus superior, had you not possessed this confidence, should I, think you, have placed a man like this under the same roof, have allowed him to live, in some sense, alone with you, for your mother and your Hannah are, in this respect, as nobody. A man thus noble and attractive in his person, rich in mental gifts: his past life and his genuine principles thus totally unknown?

"Many persons have expressed their surprise that I should have done this: but the danger which they feared, I could not fear.

"Lord bless me, brother, I do not understand you! Danger! What danger can you mean? No matter what, if you really do not take my meaning, since, as I told you, I did not and cannot fear it.

"After a little pause, I saw what he meant. How am I fallen Sophy? What a world do we live in! But my brother feared not for me, yet for those who knew me to hold it for an instant in their mind, was so opprobrious to me.

"Much besides this, my brother said, all so strange, so humbling to my honest pride, *honest* I may surely call it, that I shall hate to remember it.

"I asked him if any thing in my behaviour—I could not say more, but by the indignant glow of my cheeks. He hesitated to reply. Why no, said he, at last, I have seldom seen you together. You tell me that you have had no conversation with him, but yet—But I fear to check your ingenuous spirit.

"Fear not that brother. No consequence shall make me a dissembler to you. I will always repose my feelings in your ear, whatever inference your judgment may draw from them. Tell me what you have observed in me to occasion uneasiness.

"Perhaps, I have inferred to much. In youthful minds, in inexperienced minds, in female minds, where sensibilities are generous and fervent, admiration and compassion, for persons of a different sex, are so apt to slide into a different sentiment, and the compassionater herself all the while unconscious of what is going on within, that I have, I own Jessy, been somewhat uneasy.

"Such interest as you take in this man; such delight as your sparkling eye betrays while listening to him; such craving after all that I can tell you of him; such eagerness to vindicate him from my disparaging conjectures; such humiliation as his neglect of you occasions!

"All these are worthy of your liberal heart. They argue nothing but that, at present, you admire and pity. All my apprehension relates to what *may be*—what structure time may raise on this foundation.

"Besides, when I reasoned thus upon appearances, I was not aware of what this conversation has partly disclosed; I did not know that my sister reasoned as she now seems to reason; I was

far from thinking that the consequence alluded to, had, in your eyes, so few attractions and so many obstacles. Why, thought I, should this girl be vigilant to check those grateful impulses? Her heart was formed for love. She will never taste true happiness till she finds some being on whom to bestow all her affections. Why not bestow them on Colden, with all his graces and merits, whom she sees so nearly and so often? What can thwart the natural course of her feelings, but the fear of not being requited, and what is there to instil such a fear?

"Enamoured hearts are seldom diffident of their own merit. Their gratitude, their services, they usually deem a sufficient recompense for the love they claim. Minds, in most respects unequal, find seldom any difficulty in uniting, and supposing Colden to be, what he seems to be, there is far from being any remarkable disparity between him and Jessy.

"O! My brother, cried I, in a painful confusion, how can you say so?

"The strongest mind and the most enlightened, looks not, in women, for various knowledge and studious zeal like its own. These are not the cementing powers between the sexes. These give not birth to love, and form not the charms of wedlock. It is the concord of hearts, the mingling of affections, that give force to this bond. Does not Jessy know this, and may she not then make herself a merit in her love?

"That the difference of Colden's birth and education from your own, the uncertainty of his present condition, whence he comes, what connections or embarrassments he may have left behind, what stay he may make among us, and whither he will go, when he does go; that these uncertainties occupied so much place in your mind, as they now seem to do, I had no means of knowing till now.

"I rejoice that you allow these uncertainties so much weight. Let them, I admonish you most earnestly, let them always be present and outweigh every sentiment that his company may excite in your heart by mere complacency and good will.

"And thus ended, my Sophy, a conference more painful to me than I can describe. Why did I repeat it to you? I have only called up again the pain it gave me, and now is my heart so greatly depressed, that I can write no more.

“Cheer me Sophia, by thy letters. Tell me what I should think, how I should act. I see that I am not fit, in your and my brother’s opinion, to govern myself.

Never, Sophy, did I so much wish to be with you as now. I would be any where but here and in the company of this man. When in the same room, at the same table, with him, my uneasiness is greatest, but loneliness and sleep do not take it away. These hints and precautions of you and my brother have bereaved me of my comforts. I know no inmates of my heart, but doubts, fears and suspicions, and my heart detests such visitants.

“I am afraid of doing wrong. I must act and speak, but I am no judge of consequences, and to mean well, will not always prevent mischief.

“Can’t I see you Sophy? Will not you fetch me away? Your sweet retreat must have numberless charms at this season, and all is here so dusty and so hot. Such myriads of insects teasing us all day and stinging us all night. We live near the road, which is only an heap of dust, which wheels and horses, going to and fro all day, raise into clouds, that doors and windows cannot keep out, and that rest upon chairs and tables polluting and disordering whatever it touches. The very ivy at my back window is whitened and loaded with it.

“And then the heat! I wonder such an air as this does not breed plagues worse than that of flies and gnats, which it does breed. Yet a worse plague it has bred in me; the plague of an impatient spirit; a plague worse than Egypt ever knew.

“The sun at noon-day, shining full upon this low roof, makes every thing almost too hot to be touched. The night is not long enough to cool the air, and the breezes, of late, seem all to have passed through an oven before they reached us. Last night I chanced to leave a knife blade on the window—this morning, at ten, I saw it where it lay in the sunshine, and took it in. Will you believe me, Sophia? I was obliged instantly to drop it on the floor, it was so hot. I dropt it, else, I verily believe, it had scorched my fingers.

“And in this weather, Sophia, must thy poor friend broil and bake, not her mutton and potatoes merely, but *herself*. The

coals must be brightened, morning and noon, the pot must be filled, whether the sun shines or not. This it is that makes my languor so extreme at this season. Hardly can I go up stairs. Indeed I am obliged to rest in going up. My aching knees absolutely require it.

"I can eat scarcely any thing. My appetite goes quite away in summer, and it puzzles me to find out how I reach the autumn alive. Yet by summer's end I am scarcely half alive. Pale as as ashes, meagre, spiritless, her substance half dissolved, is thy Jessy by the time that the air begins to be refreshed by the gales of November.

"I cannot bear it any longer. My brother says he will send his Jenny to keep house for me, whenever I choose to visit you, so send for me, Sophia, as soon as you can.

"What a weak, foolish creature am I grown! I am quite other than I was. Some evil spirit has got hold of me, without doubt. He it was, surely, that made use of my pen, and wrote thee such a letter yesterday.

"Such a letter, Sophia! For *me* to write. To paint my situation in such exaggerated colours: to determine to leave my mother! No. It was not I.

"I am greatly astonished at the state of my mind, for these last three days. Surely, Sophia, my intellects have not been quite sound. Never did I feel before as I have lately done. Are there not cases of insanity, coming on without warning, and lasting for a little while; and has not this been such a one? I strongly suspect it has. It has gone, and methinks it never will come back again. Alas! What assurance can I have of that?

"The heat! the dust! the insects! Did I ever complain of these before, and have I not always had as much reason? Many days within this month have been as hot, as dry and as stagnant as yesterday, yet I never repined at such trifling inconveniences.

"Whatever is painful in my condition, have I not chosen it, for my mother's sake? I need not stay in this cottage, but as long as I please. Has not that tutelary angel, to whom I now write, offered every good that the most aspiring heart can wish, and the proudest fortune bestow? I may live with her, all her leisure,

luxuries and enjoyments may be mine too, if I please, and why do I not take them?

“Because I must not, cannot, forsake my mother. I am not, indeed, fit to enter the high and the gay world. I was born for privacy, seclusion and an humble lot. I love my cottage, for my own and my dear sister’s sake, who lived and died under its roof; but I would not live in it alone, nor pass my time in it, as I now do, were I to take counsel of my own independent inclination.

“None of this broiling and baking would I do, to serve myself. I would live as our guest does, and my food, preferable to my palate, in itself, should cost me no trouble at all, and not one tenth of the expense of our present living; but my mother cannot, and I wish her not, to change her habits merely to save me trouble.

“I might persuade her too to leave this house, and go, as my brother has long wished us to do, a few miles from the city. There is many a sweet spot on the Hudson, where we might find a green and quiet abode, and to please me, my mother would consent to go; but this would be with much reluctance, and my brother would be obliged to supply from his own stock, the money which I now earn, and which is equal to my own maintenance.

“You too, Sophia, have exhorted me to leave town, and offered the means necessary for doing it without injury. I have not declined accepting the loan, from any pride or perverseness of temper, but merely through regard to my mother’s wishes, and because, in truth, my cottage and my homely tasks, are not displeasing to me.

“Let me dispatch this letter, after yesterday’s, without loss of time, that it may save you the trouble of sending for me. I have much to say to you, Sophia, but have not time just now.

“Now am I tranquil and joyous once more. I feel, methinks, as I used to do. My brother’s counsels, that humbled and afflicted me so much, are remembered with thankfulness and pleasure. His caution was indeed needless, but his kindness induced him to give it, and I should love him the better for his kindness.

"Yet they had a deep influence for a time. The disquiets they gave me were always strongest in his company, and though I tried to behave with composure and collectedness before him, I could not succeed. Yet he seemed not to notice me till yesterday at tea. I had just finished my foolish letter to thee, and that employment had only disturbed me the more, when I was obliged to go down. For some time he was absent and thoughtful, as usual. At last, his attention seemed to be caught by something in my looks. A glance now and then, half inquisitive, I thought, and so benign, Julia! The benignity of his eyes was new, was sudden. I had never seen it before. Commonly, his features have been darkened by comfortless reflections. They are commonly austere, but now a ray of sweet benignity seemed luminously to diffuse itself over all his features.

"Yet how did I know all this? I, to whom his attention made it only more difficult to look at him.

"I don't know how: I knew it by sympathy, I believe. I felt my cheeks glow with new embarrassment. He said nothing and quickly retired.

"How was it, Sophia, that this little incident almost instantly changed my feelings. I went up stairs again to my chamber, but the mood was changed. The heat, the gnats, the dust no longer incommoded me. I was not well, yet my spirits were exalted into heavenly serenity.

"This man, Sophia, has a soul. I am sure he has. I read it in that look. Wrong, you often tell me to judge of men by their looks. Wrong or not, there are cases, when not to judge thus, is impossible. Impossible, at least, for me.

"And this it is that pleases me so much. A noble, a beneficent aspect in man is, of all earthly things, the most attractive to my gaze. Do not some say, I think I have been told so, that the Deity possesses an human shape, the man of *this* world being fashioned after the image of the Universal Maker?

"Do not smile at me, my friend. Above all, beware, I charge you, of dealing out unwarrantable inferences, from what I shall tell you. I fear you a great deal, but that shall not hinder me from saying, that to me there appears somewhat *divine* in the face of our guest. 'Tis a book full of sublime and excellent meaning. Methinks I could read in it forever.

"But all the rest of him is fully worthy of his face. I mean his personals. I know but little of the rest. Yet his face tells me much, and indeed his conversation with my brother, has unfolded a few things.

"Would to heaven he would deign to talk to me. Yet the very thought of that makes me tremble. What a poor part should I act! What could I say? I know nothing that he knows. I have never been where he has been. And what occurs within my little sphere, is all trifling and despicable. No fit subjects to talk to him upon.

"But could I not listen? Methinks I should listen eagerly. I have a great desire, you know, to learn, and though reading is to me but a dull task, I have always had a great passion for listening. I know I should be, not, indeed, an apt, but a most willing and obsequious scholar. By dint of zeal I might get forward; perhaps rise to something in time.

"And how shall I prevail on him to talk? Why not tell him my wishes? Why not ask him to talk? Why not say to him, 'Here, Sir, is a poor girl who knows nothing, but who wants to know every thing. Have you nothing in all that travelling and books, and education have given you, suited to her childish ignorance and incapacity; something which she will be the better for knowing, and which it may not be unamusing to yourself to communicate? You meet her twice or thrice a day. You are obliged to endure her company for a little while—Why not, good sir, devote that little to her benefit?'

"She is not a worthless or stupid creature, I believe. Her heart is composed of fibres that vibrate easily and strongly. They are moved by the least breath, but are touched into harmony by nothing sooner than by gratitude and pity.

"You are not happy, good sir. Will not a docile ear and grateful heart, even in so trivial a thing as I, beguile you of a few moments of uneasiness. While you talk to me, you will cease to think of that which gives you pain."

"Now, Sophia, why should I not speak thus to our guest? He would not repulse me, as forward and impertinent, would he? I have a good mind to try; but I know I should never muster up courage.

I wish he would begin with me. In him, it would be condescending, and therefore easy ; but in me—No, I shall never have courage to begin discourse with him. I wish he knew how desirous I am to be talked to. Is there no way indirectly and by way of hint ?

“ Would I knew something more of him. By that knowledge, perhaps, I might regulate my approaches, and is there no means of knowing ? He writes and reads not at all, I believe. One day he opened Moshien’s history, that lay in the window. Something caught his eye for three minutes. He read the page and then left it. Luckily he opened where a shred of linen lay, so that I was able, as soon as he went out, to look at the passage.

“ I understood not much of it. It talked about a certain Jerome, who was burnt at Constance, for heresy—the disciple of a certain John Huss. What a strange effect, Sophia, has reading upon thy poor friend. It shews me, only more clearly, the extent of my ignorance. Every thing alluded to in this account, was strange to me. I asked myself questions. Where, said I, is Prague ? What were the incidents of Zisca’s war ? Wherefore did the Prince quarrel with his subjects ? What did one demand and the other refuse ? And who were they who sat in counsel, and caused the venerable Jerome to be burnt ?

“ Alas ! None of these questions was I able to answer. Now Colden, I suppose, has all this in his possession, and, perhaps, would despise me, on finding me so ignorant. Yet why should not a man find pleasure, in removing ignorance, in imparting his knowledge ? Suppose I should put those questions to him ? Nothing improper, I should think, in that. But whence, would he not ask, could I glean such odd inquiries ? What are Zisca and Jerome and Bohemian battles to me ? Better, surely, exercise my curiosity on other subjects ; but what other ?

“ Some, they must be, on which he is able to instruct me : else to put my questions to him would be absurd. Yet why not be inquisitive on the same subjects with him ? The Taborites and Calaxtines are as much to me as to another. They are men, and their fate ought not to excite the less sympathy in us, because they lived a great while ago, and a great way off, if their story be truly and circumstantially told.

"Religion, it seems, was the hand that set fire to their passions. Jerome preached a new religion. Many people believed, but the rulers were not convinced, and killed every body that believed like Jerome. I should like to know what it was that Jerome preached, and whether he or the council were in the right. There must have been some very great difference between them surely, to make one so cruel and the other so obstinate.

"Will not Mosheim tell me all this? I have half a mind to read the book. If ever Colden should talk to me, how would he be surprised to find me so knowing as this book would make me! Some inducement, too, to speak to me, he observing me thus employed. A proof, it would be, that my thoughts sometimes rose above the tea-pot and the stew-pan.

"Don't be surprised, that I run on thus, Sophia. Don't be angry, especially as I stop merely through compassion to you. I could write twice as much before I sleep, but I must not trust too much to your indulgence. So, adieu.

"How, Sophia, do you think this morning has been busied? I wish I were near enough to hear your guesses.

"Getting breakfast, I suppose. Attending your mamma. Working at a wrist-band."

"To be sure, but what besides these?

"In reverie, perhaps, while the bed is made and the floor sanded.

"Certainly; but what else?

"Why—reading.

"Yesterday's design, respecting Mosheim, has been executed. You began to study, at last.

"No such thing. Sometime hence, perhaps to-morrow, I may begin, but, to-day, I had other business.

"What! Had you a long conversation with your guest? Has the statue opened its mouth at last?

Ah! Sophy! Would that guess was the true one. But I will tell you what it was.

"I awoke pretty early, earlier by far than common. I thought

of course, on all that had lately passed. It was a motley, a surprising scene, Sophia. Some parts of it engaged me more than others. Especially Colden's conversations with my brother. All of them (by-the-bye there have been but two in my hearing) were remembered, and now I repeated them to myself.

"But, thought I, shall I always remember them so exactly as now. Time, perhaps, will slowly wear the traces out. A good scheme, to write them down. Then they will always be vivid and at hand. And how can my active pen be better employed? Let me see, what can be done, before breakfast time, this very morning. Full two hours from the dawn of day, till my mother stirs.

"So I watched the stars till they faded away. Then I got up, and my paper was before me, and my pen in hand, some minutes before the light was strong enough to let me use them. I looked very impatiently at the east. My window gives me a full view of that quarter of the heavens. The air was deliciously cool, and my mind glowed the more fervently on that account.

"I soon began to write, and finished my task, I assure thee, before the sweet face of my Hannah (she sleeps in my mother's room) showed itself at my door. A great deal too was to be said, but I hurried forward my pen, minding not my dashes and my commas. I wrote it for myself alone, yet I will send it to my Sophia, if she wishes it, on condition that she sends it back in due season.

"It was done—every syllable of these two talkers was put down, and proud was I of my exploit. What a difference, my friend, between this morning and all my former ones. Methinks that thus to spend every morning would be highly beneficial. Such a contrast would it prove to the molested sleep, the confused dreams, in which my mornings heretofore have been spent.

"Yet this is not the first attempt at early rising. I have often determined to rise with the sun, but so drowsy, so comfortless, have I felt, so impatient of my mind's vacancy, and so vainly striving to keep the needle going, that I as often gave up the scheme.

"Nothing of all this did I now feel. I was all alert, spright-

ly, impetuous. My thoughts glowed, and as they followed each other to the pen, my soul was visited, it seemed, by glimpses of a pure, a supernal light. I once, Sophia, thought sewing was pleasant. Lately its reputation has sunk a little with me. I like the pen better.

"As usual, I met Colden at breakfast. The remembrance of how I had lately been employed, gave me some credit in my own eyes. Ought it not to give me some? At least, with him?"

"Why not, thought I once, tell this man what I have been doing? Such a dumb reserve on either side! Justifiable, perhaps in him from his ignorance of what is passing in my heart. Let me pluck up reasonable, decent courage, and break the spell. Once broken, it will never be formed again.

"I had done it, I believe. A fluttering heart, needless movements of the tea-cup, were preludes which should have ended in a—" Pray, sir, will you be so good as to tell me what religious people mean when they talk of *receiving the cup in both kinds*?" But he left me before the preludes were at an end: Sorely, to my disappointment. All the courage and tranquillity which I had enjoyed, for a few days, had like to have deserted me. I hemmed and sighed it away, and conquered my dejection the sooner by thus betaking myself to the pen.

"Pray send for me, Sophia; pray do. Not a moment longer under this roof—that I am determined. A rude; an insolent—*****

"Faithful pen! Let me intrust to thee, and to my Sophia, all the feelings of this simple and wayward heart. What, O my ungovernable heart, shall I compare the to?"

"Tears, scalding tears, tears of indignation; of anger at myself and the world, burst forth, but now my tears rebuked themselves. 'Tis well I have no witnesses to my infirmity. Should I not die with shame if there were?"

"Yet my poor mother thought that something was the matter. The sob, not effectually stifled, the voice, broken and uneven, excited her notice.

"Why, Jessy, my dear, what ails you?"

"Nothing at all mamma. Will you have your gruel now?" stammered I, awkwardly endeavoring thus to draw away her thoughts. And all my tears, for what?

"Ah Sophia! You must cast away the frail and perverse Jessica. She merits not thy love. My confession will make it but too evident.

"I spent this morning in quieting those scruples that had hitherto, as I imagined, stood so much in the way of conversation with our guest. I persuaded myself to take courage and address myself to him, while at tea. Various questions I thought of, with which I might begin, by asking him. I was at great pains to find out a suitable question, and when I found it, I weighed very carefully the words I should use. Having settled all these difficult points, I waited, with some impatience, for the evening. It came, at last, and at the usual time. I found myself seated opposite to him at the tea-table.

"Methought it was more solemn than usual. There was an air of more disquiet, and greater inattention to me, was evident. This discouraged me, a good deal. I felt my resolution sinking. I struggled to keep it alive, and at last, as I held the plate, with a slice of bread, to him, I said—Pray, sir—There I stopped.

"His attention was roused. He looked at me with curiosity, and I resumed with a world of hesitation and embarrassment—Pray, sir—Yet I am loath to trouble you with such idle questions. I could not go on. With an air of benignity, he now said—You cannot imagine, Sophia, the sound of his voice. It is awfully sweet, to my ears, especially when kindly modulated, as it now was—but he said: All your questions, if I can answer, I will answer cheerfully.

"It was only—I was thinking this morning—what it was—what harm there could be—I forget what I wish to know, and to ask so strange a question of you.

"Pray, said he, with increasing affability, let me fully know your doubts; I will remove them if I can.

It was only this. What harm, I thought, this morning, can there be in leaving the Romish religion and turning Protestant, that people must be burnt alive for doing so.

"O Sophia! I shudder even now to tell you what followed. Such a propitious beginning to end so!

"He started half up, cast a dreadful look at me—uttered not a syllable, but, after a moment's pause, seized his hat and hurried out of the room.

"Such was the issue of my foolish experiment. Deeply, and with burning tears, did I see my folly, my rashness. So blind was I, not to see the impropriety of my inquiry. Yet who would have suspected it to be improper? Sure I am, I intended no ill.

"But I have done, methought, some bad thing, that he can never forgive. He will change his lodgings to be sure, to avoid being tormented by my impertinent curiosity. Well; well;—Let him go; a haughty; unaccountable; mysterious—and the sooner he will go the better. Either will be less unhappy in the absence of the other.

"O Sophia, these were unhappy moments to me. I could not endure home. I could not bear myself, and went out to walk, though the air was very gloomy and blustering, and big drops of rain began already to fall.

"I took, pensively, the way across the fields, towards the Hudson. You know the hill, from the side of which you overlook Wantsey's Marsh. 'Tis pretty steep, and some old trees are scattered on the edge of it, whose shade is pleasant at noon, and whose covert makes the evening gloom still deeper. I sat me down under one of these, quite thoughtless of the time, and of every thing but Colden's strange demeanour.

"The night came on, and I still was seated on a grassy hillock all alone. People frequently ramble here on summer evenings, and a solitary girl like me, might well be timid. At other times I should have been so, but now I felt nothing like fear. I thought not once of my situation.

"At last, perhaps, it was an hour after dark, something happened, I don't know what, to rouse me from my dream. I saw it was a very dark night, so much so, that I feared I should hardly find my way back. Just then, methought, I saw a large figure moving towards this spot, brushing through the long dry grass. I was full of tremours. My knees shook so much, that I could

not for a moment, get on my feet, yet I dreaded to remain, and wanted to hurry away.

"The figure still came on, and when near me, suddenly stopt, observing me, no doubt, and wondering what could induce a girl like me to trust herself, alone, at this time o'night, so far from home. By this time, I found my feet, and starting up, was going, when the person said, in a tone of surprise, *Jessy Arnot*. Is it you.

"O my *Sophia*! The voice was *Colden's*. How I trembled. He did not tell me to stop, yet I did stop. I could not move a step further. I did not answer him neither. It seemed as if I had not breath enough to utter a syllable.

"He came up to me—Why, said he, it is *Jessy* indeed. My good girl! You have strayed far.

"Good girl! *Sophia*, in a tone so kind! What a change was here. My heart was now in greater tumults than ever. Apprehension, joy, surprise, seemed all to swell my bosom at the same time. I could not find words, till he had repeated—A late hour, *Jessy*, to be thus far from home.

"It is, indeed, said I, it was very wrong of me; but don't know how it was. I walked on without thinking, and sat here, inattentive to the things around me. I shall never do the like again, I am sure.

"No common theme must have engrossed you so much, said he, in a tone, as I thought, of interrogation.

"Now was the trembling fool more embarrassed than ever. Did he suspect what I was musing on? Never, my friend, was there a worse dissembler than thy *Jessy*. Her heart is in the hand of every one, that wishes to have it there.

"Nothing, not much, stammered I, in a hurry, I was only sorry—grieved for—because—

"Lord bless me, *Sophia*, what was I about? Was I going to say how his fierceness had affected me? I suppose I was, and should have said it then, but his anger before, and his kindness now, were too much for me. I could not say more for tears, that impertinently came into my eyes.

"His accents betrayed more kindness, as well as some surprise.

"You were sorry; you were grieved, Jessy. For what? May I know the cause?"

"I grieved for my own rashness; for having given anger and pain, by my impertinence; for having met with sharp rebuke, where I meant no ill, and stern repulse, where I sought knowledge.

"This hint gave him evident disturbance. He seemed to breathe hard while he spoke.

"No more of that, good girl. I was the faulty wretch, not you. Allow for my infirmity. It was a freak not to be accounted for, or justified, and I wanted to see you and atone for it. Pass it over; think of it no more, will you?"

"Colden thus to humble himself at my feet; to confess himself in error; to ask forgiveness from *me*. I could not answer him, Sophia; I could not, indeed. Marking my unwilling silence, I hope he saw it to be unwilling, he continued:

"Your ingenuous heart must seek a different instructor. I am not worthy to be your teacher. What knowledge you want, I am unable to communicate—

"Here ensued a long pause. It was not for me to break it. Meanwhile, we walked forward, and had, by this time, got into Broadway.

"You know the way now, he said. My path leads me differently. So saying, he left me, and walked quickly away.

"I hurried home, wanting the kind solitude of my chamber to think. Sophia? There is something in all this—exalting, shall I call it, to thy poor friend? Bewildering, it surely is. What a croud of vivid, rapid images, burst in upon my mind. They would not suffer me, as methinks I hear,

"Some minstrel, Jessy, sing or say,

"To bide at home,

"Abroad to roam,

"But snatched me, from myself, away.

"I have tranquilized myself enough to write thus far—To tell thee what has happened, but to describe my feelings now, that I liesurely look back upon these incidents, is too hard a task for me. Some other time, I shall be able. To-morrow, perhaps.

"Bewitching pen! I can scarcely spare thee from my fingers while I sleep. Night has become more tedious since I have grown accustomed to my quill. More than once, I had like to have risen, gotten a light, and scribbled away upon my pillow.

"How numerous, how troublesome, said a neighbour, are the musquitoes grown of late. For them and the heat, one can scarcely get a wink of sleep. Don't you find it so, Miss Arnot? Last night especially.

"Me! O! dear, no. Their buzzing and their stinging vex not me. Last night, I hardly slept a *wink*, to be sure, but I do not thank the musquitoes for that.

"O! what a light, what a bounding heart is mine! It would not lie still long enough to let me sleep."*

I shall next present the reader with a fragment which I shall call "Sketches of a History of Carsol." I would not have presented these Sketches until later in the work, but that I find them already selected and printed for this part of the first volume, because they were undoubtedly written by Mr. Brown, at a period subsequent to that of which I am now treating, and after he had become an author by profession.

Of the intention of the author in these Sketches I have no definite idea. They were intended doubtless as part of a great work. The author's love for Utopian systems appears in them, though he gives his work very much the air of real history.

* In a few instances, the Reader will find that in the preceding pages, the names Julia and Sophia are indiscriminately used.

SKETCHES OF A HISTORY OF CAR SOL.

“THE funds of Carsol amount to an annual payment of two and an half million of ducats, or 612,500*l.* sterling. They consist of shares of 100 ducats each ; the number of shares is, consequently, 25,000. Cards of the shape and size of a ducat, the edges hardened by a species of glue, represent this property, and are transferable like pieces of money. The production of the card, at the proper office in the capital, entitles it to payment five times in the year, of twenty dollars at a time, on each share. As all payments are recorded, the numbers being creditors, payments may be declined, and the money left to accumulate. This may happen in consequence of the loss or destruction of a card : of the absence of the holder, or his voluntary reservation of the claim. In case of loss or destruction, due proof will be received by the office, and new cards issued. Old, defaced or torn cards may be renewed at pleasure.

“ These funds have various advantages over the public funds of other nations. They are transferable without form or trouble, in any part of the world ; the possession of the card being to all useful purposes, equivalent to that of coin. They are, in one respect, better than coin, because the loss by robbery, mislaying, miscarriage or otherwise, may be repaired by proving before an impartial tribunal. Those who are desirous of further security, may lodge them in the bank of Carsol, to be taken out or transferred, only by their signed order.

“ The stability of the government, its good faith, its riches, its exemption, by reason of its wisdom, energy and strength, from foreign molestation, give these funds a vast superiority over others. The cheapness, security and other advantages of a

residence in Carsol, where these funds are most accessible, contribute also to enhance their value. The occasional commotions and wars of the neighbouring nations, and the convenient position of this Island, render it the best possible for persons or property.

“The value of these funds, or their price in exchange, bears a large proportion to their annual produce. This proportion varies with the circumstances of individuals and of nations. It has never sunk below one hundred to two, or risen above one hundred to five. So that the smallest value of the funds, or the amount of the principal, of which the annual payments may be considered as the interest, is 1000 ducats or twelve and an half millions sterling, and the highest value has been 125 millions of ducats, or 31 and three quarter millions sterling.

“These funds have been reduced to their present state, since 1725, that is, for 85 years. Dividends unclaimed for 40 years, revert to the state. During the last 45, the average of annual reversions has been about 25 shares, or 2,500 ducats. Much deliberation has taken place as to the best mode of appropriating these reversions. The whole amount has been (up to 1805) 125,000; which gives a principal, at only 5 per cent. of 2,500,000 ducats. By cancelling the cards, the annual payment would be reduced to 2,375 ducats. Great advantages, however, having been found to arise from the acceptance of these funds, they have been kept unimpaired. All lapsed funds are granted anew, and as their lapse must necessarily arise from the misfortunes of private persons, and especially of strangers, the sovereign has ordained that they shall be granted gratuitously, for the relief of meritorious individuals of foreign nations. Being granted in annuities of 12,500 ducats, (325/2 sterling) it follows that the present number of such annuitants amounts to 100.

“After resolving that the objects of this bounty should be foreigners, it was a topic of much reflection to settle the kind of merits or services to be thus rewarded. So large a fund, wisely dispersed, could not fail to produce considerable effects.

“These stocks were created in the following manner: The first Arthur, in order to acquire the whole landed property of the Island, offered the proprietors a sum, in the fund of perpetual an-

nuities, equal to all the income they received from their lands. This offer was accepted at different times, by the whole body of proprietors.

“ The baronial estates, at the time of Arthur’s accession, were entailed. They were neither liable to alienation, testamentary disposal or forfeiture for debts, except during the life of the debtor.

“ To diffuse throughout the Island their agricultural and economical improvements, of which he had become enamoured, the prince found it necessary to acquire the privileges of an universal landlord. His policy consisted in obtaining these, with the full consent of the owners. This was effected by obtaining a senatorial law, allowing proprietors to alienate their lands; and by purchasing, at a fair price, the lands thus unfettered. The improvements immediately adopted, raised the rental of the land from 1 to 15 ducats, and thus easily enabled the prince to fulfil his contract.

“ The new property being of a volatile and transferable nature, became exposed to all the freaks of prodigality, improvidence and folly. The connection between the nobles and their vassals, being thus dissolved, and the power and influence thence accruing, being at once taken from the ancient barons, and invested in the prince, the barons became wholly powerless and insignificant, and the prince absolute and irresistible.

“ In the course of a century all the ancient families, except nine, were either extinct by the ordinary accidents of nature, or were sunk into mediocrity or obscurity. Pedigree is rather contemptible than venerable, when disjoined from wealth and power.

“ Nine families continued unimpaired in their wealth. They changed the nature of their property, but three generations succeeded each other, endowed with a sufficient portion of discretion to preserve their property from being lessened, and in some cases to augment it. These, indeed, had sunk from turbulent and ferocious leaders into indolent and unambitious gentlemen; eminent for their softer nature, but divested of ambition. The descendants of these families were sometimes found in places of profit and dignity, but for this they were not indebted to their family, but to their own personal merits.

"The ancient senate consisted of the proprietors of land. Every barony was entitled to one seat. The proprietors of several baronies could therefore nominate as many members as there were baronies in his possession. The barons or their proxies composed the *Senatus Laicus*. The *Senatus Clericus* consisted of the archbishops, bishops, twenty deans, chosen by the deans from their own body, and 110 curates, elected by that body in the same manner. The two senates assembled annually during the last week of the year. These bodies possessed legislative powers conjointly; the deliberations of the latter, being confined to ecclesiastical affairs, and all its decrees requiring the concurrence of the Laical senate. The prince has, in virtue of his property, the nomination of ten senators. The boundaries of the respective jurisdictions of these bodies; their privileges and methods of proceeding, had been settled and sanctioned by the usage of four centuries.

"In acquiring the whole landed property, the prince would have acquired power much more absolute than what would have arisen from the mere appointment of all the members of these two senates. This right, however, would have followed the acquisition. As all laconial estates were unalienable, and descended only to lineal or collateral heirs, the possessions of the prince would naturally be augmented by these accidents, which occasioned the extinction of families. Princes, however, instead of increasing their demesne, were found, in all ages, much more disposed to diminish it. All the lands accruing to them by escheat or forfeiture, they were sure to regrant, sooner or later, on the ancient terms to their favourites, and they were prevented only by the strictest laws, from impairing their original patrimony. Grants of the original demesne, were in fact only during the life of the prince granting.

"By a project which converted all the barons into mere holders of stock, this constitution was subverted, unless some special measures were employed to preserve it. By an express law, the baron's right to form a constituent part of the senate, was declared to be inherent in his person, and descendible to his heirs, in the same manner as his barony formerly was. By this law, he was enabled to part with nothing but the rights and profits of a mere landlord.

“The extinction of some families, the poverty and ignominy, or emigration, of others, the loss, by all, of that influence which proceeds from territorial possessions, very quickly reduced this senate to a mere nominal assembly, whose decrees were controuled or dictated, at the pleasure of the prince. Insensibly the substance changed, while the name continued, and the *Senatus Laicus* finally became a council, consisting of the officers of the prince, and those whom his patent invested with this privilege. Senator became a personal honour, conferred without regard to ancient distinctions.

“As to the *Senatus Clericus*, the power and privileges of its members were connected with their offices. These offices were held for life, upon the gift originally of the prince, but ultimately of the pope and the dignitary clergy, archbishops, and bishops were named by the pope, the deans by the bishops, and the curates by the bishops jointly, with their council of deans. Thus stood the ecclesiastical establishment at the accession of the Carils. As in all ecclesiastical appointments, the court of Rome had nothing but revenue and influence in view—the benefices of Carsol were almost entirely possessed by foreigners, or by those who resided abroad. These performed their official duties, whether ecclesiastical or civil, by deputies, whose places were sold at auction.

“The convents, in like manner, were originally possessed of the power of naming their own heads, and expending their own revenues. In process of time, the nomination to abbies, with the greater part of their revenues, were engrossed by the archbishops, bishops and pope. The injurious effects of this system, the venality, tyranny and negligence of the prelates and their delegates, may be easily imagined. The continual draining away of money, was of ruinous tendency. The administration of justice, among the vassals of the clergy, was totally neglected, or perverted; poverty, depopulation and depravity, were the consequences of this system.

“The revenue drawn from this Island by the court of Rome, consisted of the tythe of all the benefices, for the first year after nomination to them, of innumerable fees and perquisites, of the produce of the sale of a calendar of 7 pages, containing the year-

ly festivals ; and a pontifical indulgence to eat flesh on Santa-besta's day. This indulgence was a simple inscription on the last page, in the following words :

“ Sanctissima papa dat tibi hoc tenenti libertatem carnem edendi die sanctæ vestæ. The rest of its pages contained four columns each ; one two sets, one column of each set containing the day of the month, and the other the festival, of which there were forty in the year answering to it.

“ This calender was annually sent from Rome, and its sale and distribution intrusted to a special minister, resident at Carsol. From him they were purchased by the quantity, by certain pedlars, who made it their business to carry and disperse them through the country. It was easy to persuade the multitude that it was a meritorious and pious act to purchase these calendars. The clergy easily annexed to them a sanctity, beyond the original design. They were greedily purchased by the people, and considered as a sort of talisman, the influence of whose presence was beneficial both here and hereafter. The venders of this talisman gradually became a class order, partly mercantile and partly apostolical, and who, in preaching up the merits of their wares, were supposed to preach up religion. They consisted of 100 persons, each person having a peculiar district. Through this district, to every house in it, were these *calendars* accustomed to penetrate during the last three months in every year, loaded with this article. The average number annually sold, from 1650 to 1680, was 500,000. The price to the wholesale dealer was a quarter of a ducat ; to the last purchaser, an unica more, so that the whole produce of this sale is about 580,340 Cr. from which, deducting 8,340 for the profits of the immediate distributors, &c. 10,000 ducats for the expense of printing, materials and transportation, and for the perquisites of the secretary of calendars and his officers, there is left to the papal treasury, the enormous sum of 445,000 ducats. This calendar, paid for at this price, is the only book dispersed through the country, and to read its words and figures is the greatest astonishment of the whole mass of peasantry.

“ The profits of these pedlars were about equal to the stipend of a village curate. They were considered as the family and under the particular protection of the legate.

“ The benefit resulting from such emissaries, the service of their zeal, eloquence and industry, may be easily imagined. By this plain and obvious system, the legate obtained access, easy, open and undisputed, to the ear and family of every individual in the whole society. These pilgrims served as collectors of the population, which was calculated only from the data afforded by their sales.

“ Arthur could not help perceiving that the sale of this calendar was an abuse of the popular superstition for the benefit of idlers and strangers. The continual abstraction of so much money, was highly injurious to the nation, whose money was thus taken from them, in exchange for a book which only nourished ignorance and folly. To annihilate this traffic entirely, to appropriate the money to his own use, to convert the zeal and diligence of so many agents, to the promotion of purposes beneficial to himself and his people, instead of contributing to uphold the authority and enrich the minions of Rome, were the projects which Arthur and his ministers meditated.

“ These were delicate and arduous schemes, and to be accomplished only by the most cautious, wary and addressful measures. The great evil lay, in their opinion, not in drawing so much money from the people, nor even in thus continually diminishing the circulating medium, but in omitting so advantageous a means of contributing to the real instruction of the people. Popular prejudice, which does not bend and turn at the will of a prince, created formidable obstacles to any change. By contracting with the pope to pay in advance, the full amount hitherto remitted to Rome, the prince might place himself in the office of the legate, and thus acquire that minister's authority over the calendaria. No objection would be made to augmenting the contents of this publication, provided the old articles were retained, and nothing should appear in the additions, heretical or impious.

“ A more potent engine than this, over popular opinion, can hardly be conceived. Every member of the society thought it a religious duty to purchase a copy of this work, for each member of his family. He was taught to believe that every copy had touched the hand, and received the express benediction of the supreme pontiff. To enhance its sanctity, the boxes containing

them, were carried unopen to the church of St. Vesta, in solemn and magnificent procession, on the day consecrated as her birthday. They there were carried through her chappel, in presence of that statue, which all believed to have been marvellously created by her express words. The general belief was that this statue became animated for a moment, and that the marble smiled a benediction on the treasure as it passed before her. Hence, the possession of this book, was imagined to confer an happy existence after death, and in no small degree to exempt frail mortals from crimes and disasters, even upon earth.

“By such irresistible sanctions, was this book accompanied, and the compiler therefore was sure of a reverend audience to every thing he chose to insert in it. Its contents possessed the most sacred recommendations, not only of the prince, but of the pope, and of heaven itself.

“The prince undertook at first to purchase of the legate, in quality of wholesale dealer, the whole impression of the calendar. This was an offer too advantageous to be rejected, since it secured the payment of the whole sum, at once, by a single hand. Whereas this payment was formerly made by a numerous company, and subjected to many hazards and delays, through the knavery, error or misfortune of the pedlars.

“The prince next turned his attention to the pilgrims (for that was the name assumed.) He flattered them by his praises and attentions. He drew closer the bands of their fraternity, bestowed upon them badges and privileges of little importance in themselves, but gratifying to their vanity, and assigned recompenses and gratuities for such as should excel their fellows in diligence and punctuality. The calendar for some time was untouched.

“This conduct really flowed from generosity and patrimony, but the pope, the clergy and the people, could only see in it the impulses of a most orthodox and exemplary piety. The gratitude of the people was still further excited by a reduction in the price of the calendar, of two or three unicos. In paying the ancient price to the pope, and demanding less from the people, they could see nothing but the sacrifice of his personal interest in the cause of piety and virtue.

“The next step that the prince adopted, was only a new proof of his mercenary considerations. The papal barque laden with

the calendar of the ensuing year, was fortunately, for his views, and probable with his connivance, taken on her passage to Car-sol, by a Barbarian corsair. To prepare and transmit a new impression, was attended with double expense, and inconvenient delays. On these circumstances did Arthur build a new application to the Roman court, requesting that the calendar should be printed within the Island. Every scruple against the acceptance of the offer was removed, by subjecting the copy to the inspection and revisal of the pope or his legate; and bestowing the pontifical benediction on the types employed on the work.

“The calendar, as has been said, was originally distributed by pedlars, who pursued the business with the same views as the itinerant venders of any other article. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, an enthusiast, by name Mosca, imagined that so pious a duty ought to be performed gratuitously. He soon formed a society, by which the old pedlars were supplanted. This fraternity engaged to distribute the calendars at the prime cost, and to owe all additional payment to spontaneous charity. This was a new mendicant order, who, with regard to the purchasers of the calendar, were exactly like their predecessors; since, as the labourer was worthy of his hire, and those who could pay fifteen unicos, were generally able to add the sixteenth; the new carrier was paid, upon the whole, as well or better than the former one, and custom soon converted the gratuitous donation into a stated price.

“The pilgrims or moscatize, being devoted by their vows to a vagabond life, became, in process of time, exceedingly corrupt and profligate. The head of the order was obliged to calculate with accuracy, and manage their common funds with order, since the privilege of selling the calendar depended on their punctually fulfilling their contracts with the papal agents. But it was the business of the underlings to make their gains as great as possible. Thus they were authorized, by custom, to refuse any price which did not include at least one surplus *unico*, and all their address and eloquence was exercised to augment this charitable dole.

“This vagabond, depraved and lying order of itinerants became subjected, by his new arrangements, to the absolute controul of the prince. The pope was by no means insensible to the

abuses that had crept into this body, and his own interest being nowise promoted by these disorders, he readily consented to constitute Arthur chief of the order, and to invest him with the office of superintendant and reformer. Arthur knew full well the importance of accomplishing his point, by means, slow, gradual and imperceptible. He despaired of making any durable impression on the existing generation. He trusted his success to the next. He was therefore in no haste to make material changes in the discipline of this order. The members of it were suffered to proceed pretty much in their customary manner; but as these members were continually removed by death, his vigilance and severity manifested themselves in the choice of new members, and on the conditions imposed upon them. These, on their admission into the fraternity, were thoroughly apprised of the terms of this admission. They voluntarily and knowingly incurred the obligations of sobriety and honesty, and if their misconduct drew down punishment upon them, there was nobody to pity or complain on their account. The people in general were fully sensible of the former abuses of this institution, and regarded him who removed them as a public benefactor.

“The next step was to introduce some change into the calendar itself. A task of no small difficulty. The legate was morose, suspicious, fanatical. Every innovation he regarded with jealousy; and it was soon found that his concurrence was hopeless. Instead of labouring to subdue his sovereign, or to supplant him in his post, he was left to the ordinary influence of time. In a very few years he was called to Rome, to occupy a more conspicuous station, and Arthur’s whole influence was exerted at that court, to obtain this office for one of a more easy and accommodating temper.

“To acquire the property of the church and contentual lands, was a task not quite so easy as that of supplanting the baronial order. The change, with regard to the latter, was considered as affecting the very vitals of religion

“It is true that Arthur did not mean, upon the whole, to impair the ecclesiastical revenues. Neither did he entertain any immediate views of cramping their authority or privileges. There should seem, therefore, no visible objection to a scheme which should change the nature, without lessening the amount

of the church's income, and which should leave the faith of the nation, as well as the spiritual immunities of the clergy, unaffected.

"Strenuous efforts were employed at Rome, to obtain the papal sanction or permission for the alienation of church lands. These efforts were unsuccessful.

"The infinite abuses of the clerical establishment called aloud for a cure. What cure could be administered? All that was desirable, was to restore the ancient discipline. To give the monks and nuns the right of choosing their own head and members, to secure to them the use of their own revenue, and to oblige them to conform to the rules of their pristine institution, which, though obsolete, had never been repealed. To reinvest the prince with the nomination of the prelates; to oblige these prelates to decide within their dioceses, and perform the duties belonging to their station; to prohibit the holding of more than one benefice at a time; to exact the due qualifications of learning and virtue from the deans and curates; these were merely conformable to genuine rules of right discipline; but as they were at open war with the pecuniary interest of the Roman court, and of the prelates, what measure could hope to be successful?

"In other countries the reigning faith, with all its appendages, has been overthrown by preaching a new doctrine. This, though sufficiently desirable in itself, could not be effected at all, in the actual condition of this people, or could not be effected, without consummations and perils, by no means compensated by any good that could flow from the change.

"To restore things to their ancient condition, by the mere exertion of political power, would be a dangerous experiment, and was therefore avoided. Nothing indeed could be effected without previously moulding the public opinion into a conformity with its designs; and this he endeavoured to effect by causing a book to be written and published. The author of this volume undertook to paint the actual condition of the Island, in the times of Charles Martel, as to ecclesiastical affairs. All his eloquence was displayed in unfolding and adorning his subject. The times were indirectly held up, to the imitation of the present generation, as a period of rectitude and purity, by being described from which every deviation since, had been criminal and pernicious.

He particularly dwelt and enlarged upon those points, in which the past had been a contrast to the present, and by assiduously depicting the benefits that flowed from the ancient system, in those points that had since fallen into disuse, he suggested all he wished, without appearing to design it, to the reader's imagination. That is vulgarly considered as right, which is ancient, and the earliest institutions are most sacred, because they are the earliest.

"All reasonings from authority, mounted no higher than the expulsion of the Saracens in the year 1300. All the reigning institutions, ecclesiastical and civil, took their origin at that period, and the model of government then exhibited, was naturally regarded as the criterion of justice and duty. Arthur desired to bring back the theory of the Carsol government, to that pattern, though he intended that the practice of it should bear no resemblance to it. In these views, he was accidentally befriended by the personal character of the first Charles, in which valour and military conduct was combined with political wisdom and justice. This justified the advocate in painting the felicity of the nation, at that period, as an effect of the mode of government, though it was merely or principally the result of the character of the prince.

"Charles Martel pretended to derive his descent from the hero of that name. His ancestor, the son of that hero, married the heiress of Brittany, and was invested by his father in the sovereignty of that dutchy. On the decline of his, the elder branch, for he was lineally descended from a younger son of that hero, the Martels withdrew to a small patrimony, situated in the bosom of the mountains, from whence the Garonne on one side and the Rhone on the other, take their rise. Here they resided, in the vale or lordship of Haac, for 300 years. Charles, the younger brother to Arthur, the 27th duke of Brittany, collected a little army from the hills of Brittany, and invaded Sardinia, which was at that time under the dominion of the Saracens. The eight sons of the last Saracen prince had quarrelled about the succession. The Island had been wasted for six years, by a civil war, in which the bravest of the Mahometan militia had fallen. The number of competitors had been reduced by violent deaths to three; one of whom had sought an asylum in France, while

the remaining two, still hostile and implacable towards each other, divided the Isle, somewhat unequally between them. Degarba, the exile, was the eldest of the three survivors; consequently his hereditary right was least questionable.

“Charles Martel, count of Haac, was made captive by a Saracen ship, in coming from Constantinople to Marseilles. The captive was carried into a Sardinian port and sold. He was purchased by Degarba, fourth son of the reigning prince, whose temper was liberal and generous, and who conceived such a regard for his noble slave, as to give him his liberty without ransom, and to restore him, loaded with gifts of value, to his native country.

“The death of the Sardinian king was the signal of civil war among his sons. Degarba was the most worthy of the brothers, but success was not answerable to his merit. After a long conflict he was besieged in Carsol. The city was taken, and the prince escaped to sea in a small boat. He passed over into Provence, and found a brotherly asylum in the grateful lord of Haac. Degarba was of a gentle and pacific disposition, and becoming a converted Christian, he passed the rest of a long life in a cloister. The ambition of his protector was, however, inflamed by the councils and representations of the fugitive, who drew such a picture of the helpless and ruinous condition of the Island, that Charles determined to invade it. The bulk of the Carsol population were still Christians, from whom a Christian invader might depend upon receiving formidable succour.

“Charles, from among his own vassals, formed a band of 500 brave, faithful and enterprising soldiers. They embarked in four vessels: they landed without opposition on the northern end of the Isle, obtained possession of a very strong, but unguarded post, summoned the peasants to arms, and in the course of nine months subdued the whole Island.

“The evils of war and misgovernment, which had raged for half a century, had reduced a very flourishing community to a very low condition. On Charles’s arrival, the population did not exceed 300,000 persons, of whom about one third were Saracenic in blood or religion. The rest were Christian, and chiefly composed the class of cultivators.

“Every mussulman was armed, and hastened to oppose the invader; but their skill, courage or success, bore no proportion to their numbers, and after a short, but destructive contest, in which 15,000 of their number were slain, they submitted to the yoke. The lives, liberties, and, in some degree, the properties of the remnant, were spared, and the conqueror, attended by only 300 of his original followers, whom the war had spared, took possession of the crown of Carsol.

“He divided his conquest among these followers, preserving to himself a considerable demesne, and various marks of feudal preeminence.

“Though treated by the prince with lenity and justice, the mussulmen inhabitants provoked by the oppression of their former slaves, or instigated by ambition, made in the course of five years, five revolts. In suppressing these, the lives of 60,000 persons, among the rebels, were sacrificed. Notwithstanding so many motives to vengeance and hatred, the first Charles refused to exert any further severity than was absolutely necessary to maintain his power. At his death, which was caused by the poinard of a Saracen, whose life he had preserved and cherished, the general hatred of the parties broke forth without restraint, and almost the whole Saracen population was exterminated by the sword, in the course of a single week. A few thousands escaped to the fastnesses of Rincan, where they maintained themselves against an incessant war of ten years, with the ferocity of wild beasts. The number was then reduced to eleven persons, the chief of whom was the only son of Degarba, to whom, with his follower, an amnesty was granted. This leader became a Christian convert, and his lineal posterity continues to this day. They forget not, nor cease to value themselves upon their descent from royalty. Their ancestor was taken into favour by the prince, and married the prince’s favourite sister.

“The only lineal descendant of Degarba, was, in the fifteenth century, a female. By her marriage with the heir of the kingdom, now became a dutchy, were united the two lines.

“Such was the history of the Martel or Haac line, which ended, in a female, in 1680. By the marriage of this heiress to Arthur Carrol, a third son of Carrol, lord of Halloway, and Lo-

dorwick, in England, a new line was established. For 125 years, that is, from 1680 to 1805, the Island has been governed by this Arthur and his son.

"The tendency of this work, which was entitled "*Carsola Restaurata*," was easily suspected by the clergy. The dispersion of it could not fail of being injurious to their interests. They therefore treated the publication as a crime. It was printed in Holland, and the whole edition was imported into Carsol. It was written in Latin, so that it was intelligible only to that part of the community, who were instructed in that language. It was intended to enlighten that class of society, who possessed the influence resulting from rank, office, riches and profession.

"The legate, with the prelates and the whole *Senatus Clericus*, published a solemn decree, in which they stigmatized this book as heretical and impious. They ordered all persons who possessed it, to destroy it without delay, and threatened such as were convicted of having it in keeping, after a certain day, with condign punishment. In doing this, the clergy did not transgress the bounds which usage had assigned to their jurisdiction. This body claimed a general superintendence over religious opinions, and their own judgment only was to decide upon the connection or relation which any narrative or doctrine might bear to the sacred code. All crimes and causes of every kind, in which a clerical person was party, was cognizable only by the spiritual tribunals of the prelates. Their own prisons detained the culprit, and their own officers executed the sentence. This exclusive jurisdiction was likewise maintained over all kinds of writings, over matrimonial and testamentary affairs.

"This decree against a work written by his own secret directions, placed the prince and his counsellors in a situation of some difficulty. There was no small danger in openly opposing the execution of this sentence. In some respects the enmity and consternation of the clergy were advantageous, since the dullest understanding was awakened by them, to the true meaning and tendency of the book, and since curiosity is only augmented by the obstacles thrown in the way of its indulgence. These obstacles, in the present case, threatened to be insurmountable, and both the prudence and inclination of the prince compelled him to

clude by art and address, rather than forcibly withstand the obnoxious edict.

"This book meddled not with the speculative doctrines of the reigning religion. It proposed no change in ecclesiastical order or property. By making the prelates depend upon the prince, instead of the pope, it merely changed the source, without diminishing the esteem of clerical authority or privilege. By restoring the old conventual system, it was highly favourable to the monastic orders. It was beneficial to the numerous class of curates, by opening the way to their advancement. When all benefices should be conferred by the native prince, they would of course be bestowed upon the natives of the country. To the lay inhabitants of Carsol, it was highly advantageous—first, as it prevented immense sums of money from being annually carried abroad; secondly, as it secured preferment in the church to those of their kindred and posterity, who devoted themselves to the church; and thirdly, as a faithful discharge of clerical duty, was beneficial to morals and piety. To the pope, and to the foreign beneficiaries only, it was the signal of destruction.

"This anathematizing decree had been obtained, chiefly by the influence of the legate and archbishop, before the dispersion of the book. Most of the inferior clergy had joined in the vote, without having read what they had condemned, and through habitual submission to the head of their own body, and to the representative of the universal head.

"The real author of the work was no other than the senator and minister Pareiro, who had been named, according to usage, his agent in the clericali, but whom sickness had prevented from attending, when the subject was first canvassed. It was resolved, that, in that assembly, he should have exerted himself against the decree, but this accident prevented his attendance. At the next meeting, however, he attended and proposed the revocation of the edict.

"The clericali was composed of the prelates or their deputies, with the legate, generally a foreign bishop at the head, of twenty representatives of deans, and as many of the curates. Among the twenty-five monasteries, thirteen were distinguish-

ed from the rest, by their abbots, enjoying seats in the clericale. This was a privilege conferred by the pope's bull. This assembly then consisted of seventy-five members.

"The reformation in the sixteenth century, had not left Carsol entirely unmolested. In the year 1750, some enthusiasts of the neighbouring continent conceived themselves impelled by a divine command, to visit and convert Carsol. They were men naturally bold, enterprising and inflexible, and religious zeal had added new force to all these qualities. A bible, carefully concealed in their baggage, was the only weapon of their meditated warfare against the peace of the Island.

"Piero Hecta, a native of the Isle, was the chief of these new apostles. He was a fugitive from his native country, in his youth, on account of some amorous indiscretions. He settled at Geneva, and his ardent temper taking a religious turn, he became a convict to Calricus tenets, and gaining over eleven others, equally visionary and adventurous as himself, they arrived at Carsol. They conducted their plot with uncommon caution and adroitness. They betook themselves to the most remote districts of the Island, and gaining over the simple and unlettered curates, they spread their tenets among many thousands before they attracted the notice of the government.

"The reigning duke, though smitten with a passion for ancient literature, and the elegant arts, was ardently attached to the Romish faith. He therefore willingly concurred in all the measures taken by the ecclesiastical power to suppress the new sect.

"The Isle had hitherto remained so free from religious innovation—Its ignorance had so thoroughly secured its bigotry, that the ruling powers had never had their vigilance awakened by any disturbance or novelty. The talents of Hecta were formed for conducting revolutions. This enthusiasm was probably sincere, but it was united with ambition, and all his efforts were directed, not only to change the speculative tenets of his followers, but to make them implicit slaves of his will, and tools of his ambitious purposes. His consummated arts kindled in the stupid, vacant and hitherto passive souls of the peasants of Varingo, a fire which raged to the destruction of every thing formerly held sacred, and the fierce enthusiasm he had roused,

he was able to controul and direct, with a power more absolute than had ever hitherto been exercised in this part of the world.

“The excesses of the anabaptists in Germany bore a striking resemblance to the scenes acted in the province of Varingo. So cautiously had Hecta conducted himself, and with so much supineness had the government and clergy been seized, that Hecta was able to bring into the field a body of 2 or 3,000 fanaticks, armed with rude spears or pikes, and animated by the lessons of destruction, with which the ancient Jews entered Palestine. The prince, the nobles and the clergy armed themselves, and a religious war ensued, which terminated in the destruction of upwards of 20,000 rebels, and the conversion of Varingo into a solitary desert. These commotions were not appeased, in less than seven years, and cost the lives of 30,000 persons.

“The reformations thus assumed a most inauspicious aspect to the people of Carsol. The stigma of heresy is always, among orthodox believers, sufficiently terrible, but, in the present case, the Carsolians annexed to the name of reformers, the utmost hatred and terror that can be ingendered by the images of Demons and wild beasts. Their own experience was the foundation of their religious prejudices. Their attachment to their ancient faith acquired new strength from this unsuccessful and injudicious attempt to shake it. One hundred and fifty years had by no means obliterated the memory of Hecta and his ravages, and the clergy were thus supplied, from their own history, with the most cogent arguments against the earliest approach of religious reformation.

“The doctrine of the “Carsola Restaurata” resembled, in some points, the tenets of Hecta. This resemblance was industriously remarked by the clerical declaimers, and a revival of the same calamities vehemently predicted from the propagation of these impieties.

“After the suppression of Hecta’s rebellion, the clergy were naturally led to employ extraordinary precautions against the return of similar calamities. The two senates united in making the most vigorous laws against heresy, and a tribunal was

erected, differing little in its nature from the odious inquisition, for carrying these laws into effect.

“This tribunal consisted of one judge, ten assistants, ten messengers, two jailers and two executioners. The judges were appointed for life, by the archbishop, with the concurrence of the synod, and the subordinate officers by the judges. This tribunal possessed the power of arresting, trying and punishing all persons charged with, or suspected of heresy. Their proceedings were secret, and their decisions liable to no appeal or controul, from any other jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil.

“The crime of heresy was very vaguely defended by the laws. Any deviation from the prevailing faith and practice, in the Island, was stigmatized as such, and the judges of the Convicata (so this tribunal was afterwards called) were allowed to interpret these laws, according to their own judgment. The punishment in all cases was capital, and the sums of their proceeding, and the rules of evidence were left to their own discretion.

“A tribunal of so tremendous a nature, so secret and absolute in its proceedings, bounded, in its jurisdiction, by such vague and indefinite limits, and wholly independent of the civil power, could owe its existence only to the ignorance, inexperience and supineness of the prince and his barons. The outrages of Hecta, had produced the belief that the most swift and energetic measures were absolutely necessary to guard against their recurrence, and as the Laics were sincerely attached to their own faith, they thought too much could not be done to preserve its purity inviolate. They were not aware of the abuses to which such an institution was liable, and how far the powers, entrusted to the judges, might be perverted to the gratification of their own resentments, the views of a sanguinary faction, or the separate interest of the clergy.

“So friendly was the reigning duke to this new establishment, that he bestowed on it the Tora Letza, as a place of trial, detention and execution. The synod, in concurrence with the senate, and the express consent of the archbishops, conferred

ample salaries on the judges and officials, payable out of the archiepiscopal revenues.

“The judges, first appointed, were men of considerable capacity, and the system they adopted, was eminently calculated to accomplish the end designed. They settled, with great accuracy, the qualifications and duties of the various officers, their badges and distinctions, with the methods of proceeding. As this system was adopted for the preservation of religion, all the persons connected with this office, were impelled by pious impulses, and loaded with religious obligations. They devoted themselves to the service of this tribunal, during their lives, to the observance of secrecy and fidelity, to celibacy, to abstinence from certain meats and drinks, and to unlimited obedience. In fine, they might be considered as forming a religious order, whose purposes were similar to that of the Jesuits and Dominicans, though the means adopted for effecting this purpose were different.

“For a whole century this tribunal was maintained with vigour, and did not materially deviate from the end of its institution. Its zeal and vigilance, however, was perhaps, on many occasions, superfluously exerted.

“An extreme terror of heresy and infidelity had now taken place of the ancient indifference. A kind of toleration towards adverse sects had till now been allowed. A great number of Jews had been found in the Island, at the invasion of the Martels. The temper of a late Saracen prince had been softened towards that nation, by the influence of a beautiful Jewess, whom he had made his mistress, and the indulgences allowed them had been continued by the successors of this prince. For half a century this unfortunate people had been treated with more lenity in Carsol than elsewhere, and their numbers and wealth had sensibly increased under the benign sway of the Moslims. In the contest between the Saracens and Christians, the Jews had naturally sided with their benefactors, and heartily opposed invaders, from whom they could not expect the equitable treatment they had hitherto enjoyed. They shared the common ruin, and after the power of the new comers was fully established, both Saracens and Jews were excluded from the Island, under pain of death.

“ This rigorous edict had never been repealed, but as time wore away the memory of ancient disasters, it silently fell into oblivion. Both Jews and Turks, induced by commercial views, ventured to approach the interdicted shores. Their presence excited no alarm or outrage, and these obnoxious people even ventured to take up their permanent abode in the towns and sea-ports of Carsol. The Jews principally became settlers, and 6 or 800 persons of that nation resided in the Island, at the time of Hecta's rebellion. They were wholly disconnected with the interests or enterprizes of that arch-heretic, but the new tribunal began to suspect that the indulgence hitherto extended to infidels, had awakened the indignation of heaven, and had drawn upon the Island the late calamities by way of punishment. They therefore set themselves diligently at work to purge the land of all its impurities.

“ Those crimes which consist of immediate injuries to person and property, were already provided against by civil laws and tribunals. The king's judges took cognizance of these, except in cases where a member of the church was any wise concerned. Then justice was administered by the bishops and their deputies. That species of guilt, which consisted in abjuring or denying those limits of religion which formed the distinction between Christians and Mahometans, was properly cognizable by the the Episcopal courts, but this guilt had only hitherto existed in the persons of Jews and strangers, by whose impieties the whole society was in no danger of being infected. This branch of Episcopal, had consequently been neglected, and almost forgotten.

“ The innovations of Luther and Calvin, had created a new list of offences, and that general power vested in the Episcopal tribunals, rather by force of custom than of law, concerning heretics and infidels, was now taken from them and bestowed singly and entire on this new tribunal.

“ The crimes which exposed a person to their animadversion, was not any more a breach of morality. A man might calumniate his neighbour, abuse his authority as parent, husband or guardian, be drunken, idle, lascivious, prodigal or miserly, obscene or scurrilous in conversation, dirty or indecent

in his dress, food or habitation. In all these, and similar cases, his only punishment was in the disapprobation of his neighbours, or the natural consequences of folly and imprudence, as they affected his own health, comfort or reputation. But if he directed his scurrility against any member of the church ; if he denied, or contravened, in speculation or in practice, the authority of the pope and the clergy, the divine truth and efficacy of those rites and ceremonials, which distinguished the Roman church from that of any rival or hostile sect, he was liable to punishment.

“ To enforce the laws, forty persons were commissioned, to spend their lives, in traversing the district allotted to each, in watching the conduct of the inhabitants, and carefully noting any thing that favoured heresy or innovation. They made periodical reports to their superiors, and were themselves subjected to a very rigid discipline. They were selected on account of qualities favourable to the due execution of their office. Their sobriety, their religious zeal, their continence, their constitutional firmness and courage. Their discipline commenced at an early age, and their capacity and integrity were tried by painful tests, and secured by tremendous sanctions. They were bound to conceal from the rest of mankind, their real office and character, that their office might be discharged more effectually. Each one was a stranger to all the rest of his fraternity, and on no account did any one transgress the limits assigned to him, and though he might have frequent occasion to traverse the district of another, he never exercised his inquisitive functions, except in his own.

“ From those who had been twenty years in this service, ten were selected to perform the duty of inspectors over the rest. The *witnesses* were all known to their particular inspectors ; but the latter were wholly unknown to the former, and his duty lay in watching the conduct of the witnesses.

“ When any person was denounced by the witnesses, the grounds and motives of the accusation were explained by them to the judge, who, if he thought proper, directed an officer, called *Captor*, to arrest the culprit. Of these captors they were ten, whose qualifications and duties were settled and prescribed

with all possible vigour. The symbol of their office, displayed only at the time of seizing an offender, was a stamped piece of copper, fastened by a cord round their waist.

“As their officers were punished with great rigour, for any infraction of their duty, as their education and personal qualities were carefully considered, they enjoyed considerable distinctions and advantages. In case of sickness or infirmity they were absolved from all duty, and provided with an ample maintenance. They were bound to their office only for thirty years, and were afterwards dismissed to the enjoyment of competence, credit and ease.

“In judging criminals, the written testimony of the witness, and the personal examination of the judge, was the only evidence admitted. Contrary to the fashion of that age, torture was excluded from the process of this tribunal. One of its maxims was, that it is better for a score of innocent persons to suffer than one guilty to escape. In its proceedings, there was a marvellous mixture of cruelty and lenity. As the rites of the prevailing religion were considered as divine truths, the belief and observance of which, were necessary to salvation, it followed, in the opinion of the framer of this system, that the most sacred duty of those intrusted with power, a duty most cogently enjoyed by the lovers of mankind, was to extirpate cause of unbelief or deviation. Every human means being employed, to secure the zeal and veracity of the informers, their testimony was admitted without scruple. The death of an innocent, but suspected, person, was amply justified, provided this death was exempted from needless pain or apprehension, since innocence would be truly distinguished and rewarded in the state to which he was sent, and a quiet and speedy death was to such a one rather a good than evil, and since the mischiefs of heresy are so numerous and so lasting, and are propagated from such minute and casually dispersed seeds, the system of caution and prevention cannot be carried to excess.

“In pursuance of these maxims, the fate of every person was decided by giving the order to arrest him. If upon subsequent examination the charge was established or confuted, or left in doubt, the event was the same. The accused lost his life. But

death was inflicted on the innocent or doubtfully guilty, not as one meriting such punishment on his own account, but as a victim offered at the shrine of the public welfare. Where the guilt of the accused was established, his death was considered, not strictly as a punishment, but merely as the act of consigning him to the justice and mercy of the Divine Judge.

“On entering the fatal towers of Letra, neither menaces, privations or torments awaited the criminal. Examination ensued, in which a full account of his conduct in general, as well as in relation to the charge of heresy, was exacted from him, but exacted by no motive of fear. These were repeated and extended as long as was deemed proper, and the unhappy persons were finally enjoined to prepare for the inevitable lot. Every spiritual aid was given, adapted to their condition. They were, in fine, placed as much as possible in the situation of men reduced to the brink of the grave, by an ordinary malady, and by thus annihilating every motive which prompts men to descend, was generally obtained from them. They were taught to expect a death without agony, but the form it was to wear, they were not permitted to know. They died in consequence of taking a potion, which wrapped them in deadly, but painless slumber, and their obsequies were performed with peculiar solemnity, and their bodies were laid in deep vaults, beneath the castle.

“In a country where civil offences were frequently punished by beheading, where torture was inflicted on many trivial occasions, in an age where religious differences were accustomed to excite the most outrageous persecutions and bloody animosities, the system adopted by this tribunal, will hardly be credited. We can scarcely imagine by what course of education, or turn of thought, the author of so singular and unexampled an institution, was led to its adoption.

“The founder of this system was Michael Praya, a person equally remarkable for his learning, piety and amiable manners. He had acquired an eminent skill in ancient literature, but his attachments to these pursuits had not weakened his religious zeal, or diverted him from theological studies. He was profoundly versed in the history and ordinances of the Christian church, and had signalized his zeal and learning by a work in

defence of the Roman creed. In this work, he argued with earnestness and eloquence, but with more mildness and candour, than any controversialist of that age had displayed. So great, indeed, had been his candour, that the zealots overlooked the eloquence and reasoning of his book, and stigmatized his charity as impious and heretical.

“He was a native of Florence, was educated at Paris, and had been taken at an early age, into the service of the Carsol embassy, at that city. Having unfortunately excited the ill will of the French minister, he thought it prudent to withdraw to Carsol. There he enjoyed the favour of the prince, and was a distinguished member of the literary societies at this court. As he advanced in life, religion absorbed more of his attention, and he obtained leave to bury himself, with a few of his companions like himself, in the castle of Letza. When the rebellion of Hecta was extinguished, and the attention of the court and clergy was directed towards the proper means of preventing future evils of the same kind, the zeal of Praya impelled him to transmit from his gloomy retreat, the proposal of a separate and powerful tribunal for the extirpation of heresy. The plan, in its general outlines, was adopted, and Praya was named the supreme judge of this tribunal, and he was empowered to metho-dize and regulate the system, according to his own pleasure. He then produced the plan, of which I have given a sketch, and submitted it to the king and the archbishop, these two being empowered to sanction. The prince’s religious zeal, and his constitutional humanity, were both gratified by the plan, and the archbishop, who could not gain the royal approbation to a scheme that should be more conformable to the example given by other nations, was obliged to acquiesce.

“From this moment Praya devoted his life to the execution of his plan. He continued to reside at Toro Letza, with a family of ten monks, and the officers of his tribunal. The monks were his assessors and assistants, and performed the religious offices required by his system. For fifty-seven years he continued to administer this office, and died at ninety-three years of age.

“All the maxims of judicature, and the spirit with which it was administered, more than half a century, originated in the

character of Praya. His wisdom preserved the institution from the abuses to which it was naturally so liable. If we except the injustice, which some will maintain to be interwoven in the very nature of the scheme, it was chargeable with no glaring iniquity. The virtue of the supreme judge was impregnable to those temptations and seductions, employed against it by the interests or passions of the great and powerful. He would not suffer his sublime office to be made a tool to the vengeance or cupidity of nobles, kings or priests. He kept a watchful eye over the conduct of his inferior agents, and occasionally employed the arduous expedient of travelling in disguise through the whole Island, in order to verify the testimony of his spies. By the consummate wisdom with which his system was digested, and the devotion of his whole time and talents to perfect and uphold it, he acquired a reverence from his own officers, and from the people in general, that almost mounted to worship. He was looked up to as one possessing preternatural powers, and whose decrees were specially dictated by heaven. The lofty and inaccessible walls of his residence, the invisible majesty in which he lived, the utter oblivion which involved the fate of every one who entered these gates, the mysterious and unseen, yet irresistible energy with which every corner of the Island, every town and village, and almost every family, were occasionally visited by his power, combined to impress the popular imagination, with the most awful dread, both of the tribunal and of him whose genius and authority animated it.

“ One is struck with astonishment at beholding so omniscient a scrutiny, so elaborate a system, constructed and directed to no other end than to detect and punish imaginary crimes, opinions relative to points trifling and ridiculous, or absurd and contradictory. What efficacy would a system like this possess, if directed against the genuine crimes by which human society is afflicted, if this potent engine had been turned against the innumerable curses of fraud and violence? How could they have hoped to escape detection and vengeance? Place a king at the head of such a tribunal, and make this implicated agency subservient to maintenance of public order, and of royal authority, what despotism can be imagined more absolute and irresistible.

“ I have said that Praya's first attention was directed to the

banishment of Jews and infidels. His emissaries furnished him with an exact enumeration and list of these unfortunate persons. Each of them then received a positive command to leave the Island, before a day fixed. Their number and particular circumstances seemed to justify this milder treatment ; but should they remain beyond the day, they were to be buried in the caverns of Letza, their children, of an unknown age, to be committed to Christian care, and their property distributed among the poor.

“The Jews had hitherto been merely tolerated at Carsol. They had not been allowed to hold real property, they were destitute of every municipal privilege, their persons were treated contumeliously, but not with violence. Their contracts had no legal validity, and were supported only by the spontaneous equity of those that dealt with them. The consequence of this degradation betrayed itself in the squalidness of their appearance, the knavery of their conduct, and the vileness of their pursuits. They were, with few exceptions, indigent and wretched, and to cast them out was beneficial to the whole. Their vileness was, indeed, produced by the treatment they received, but as this treatment was not likely to change, their removal was not undesirable. Praya, however, in exiling them, was influenced by an imaginary mandate from heaven, obtained and communicated to the judge by St. Vesta, who could not suffer her peculiar precincts to be polluted by that accursed race.

“This unhappy people had reason to believe in the truth of the threats pronounced against them ; but most of them were disabled by ignorance from choosing, and by poverty from seeking a suitable asylum. Their consternation and despair, at a blow so unexpected and severe, made them still more helpless. The justice of Praya, which sought its ends by means the most lenient, somewhat relieved them from their distress. He prevailed upon the king, whose mild temper gladly adopted the expedient, to supply them with vessels to convey away, in safety, and in due season, their persons and property. The poor were provided gratis, and a moderate compensation was exacted from the rich. Though rigid duty compelled Praya to drive them away, the same duty required him to make the sen-

tence productive of the least possible hardship or suffering. He took infinite pains, therefore, to facilitate their departure, and to prevent any from remaining behind, to encounter the penalty of disobedience. His efforts to this end, however, were not entirely successful. Out of 110 families of Jews, 97 only were collected on the appointed day. The rest disappeared from their customary dwellings, and being among the poorest of the tribe, there was no reason to imagine they had found themselves a passage elsewhere.

“To rescue these wretches from all temptation to stay behind, they were not allowed to elude the sentence, by abjuring their faith. Praya had no confidence in the sincerity of vows made in circumstances like these. To admit them was, he thought, merely to propagate enemies and hypocrites, and it was far more eligible to fill the place their banishment should leave empty, by the progeny of natives and Christians. His emissaries, therefore, carefully watched their motions, marked the places to which they removed, and following them thither, endeavoured to convince them that concealment in the country was impossible, and a ready submission to their fate, their truest interest.

“Notwithstanding all these measures, such was the obstinate attachment of some, to their present country, or such their despair of making any change, even in their present unhappy circumstances, for the better, that upwards of fifty persons, among those of whom previous lists had been formed, were missing on the day of embarkation.

“These ill-fated persons had too good reason to repent the resolution they had made. They were thenceforth condemned to a life of perpetual terror and disguise. All the ordinary difficulties of procuring a subsistence, were multiplied an hundred fold to persons in their situation. To leave the country became thenceforth as difficult as it had before been easy. Some of them, grown desperate, became robbers and outlaws. Some killed themselves, in order to escape their miseries, and twenty-seven expired, in the course of the ensuing five years, in the caverns of Letza. Among the victims of this tribunal, during the whole period of Praya’s administration, the Jews who had

either disobeyed the edict of expulsion, or whose temerity or ignorance had afterwards brought them to these shores, amounted in the whole, to 157.

“Carsol had been at almost uninterrupted war with their Mahometan neighbours, since the expulsion of the Saracens. A war provoked by so many mutual injuries, could not fail of being obstinate and sanguinary. Their mutual hatred, in many cases, extinguished even the thirst of gain. Those were often indiscriminately slaughtered, whose services or ransoms as captives would have been in no small degree profitable to their conquerors. As this triumph of cruelty over avarice, could not be uniform, captives were frequently brought into the the Island, and either retained in perpetual slavery, or after a time exchanged for Christian captives in the same predicament, or restored for a ransom. As a sincere conversion to the Christian faith, entitled them to be redeemed by a fund, formed by a charitable fraternity in Carsol, the converts had been numerous at every period, and they and their posterity were mingled with the people. Those who continued in slavery, were, of necessity, allowed to retain their own faith, but every public rite or ceremonial was prohibited. When the nation was at peace with infidels, their merchants were suffered to enter the Island, but the first act of hostility was generally to seize the property and enslave the persons of the strangers.

“The number of Mahometans in Carsol, whether slaves or freemen, depended on the revolutions of war and commerce, and the treatment they received, depended on the character and interests of the reigning prince and his officers. At no time, hitherto, had it been a capital crime for captives and visitants to retain their unchristian tenets, provided they made not public ostentation of them, nor were guilty of any wanton insult to the true religion.

“In the course of two centuries and an half, there had not been thirty years, taken together, of peace with the infidels. The war had been carried on either by contests between naval armaments at sea, or by sudden descents upon the hostile coast, the devastation of cottages and villages, and the death or captivity of their inhabitants.

“By a computation, as exact as the nature of the case would admit, it appeared that from the total subjection of the Island, and the extirpation of the native Saracens, in 1300, till the accession of Alexandro I, in 1520 (during which period, war with some of the Mahometan nations had been unintermitted) these had been slain or made captive, at an average yearly of 500 Carsolians, of which 300 suffered at sea, or on the enemies country, and the rest had been taken or destroyed by hostile attacks within the Island.

“The injuries inflicted by the Carsolians, in their turn, considerably exceeded the same proportion, and during the above period, about 22,000 captives had successively been brought into the Island. A small part of this number had been restored to their native country. About a tenth part of them had been redeemed by the fraternity of St. Rhoda. The rest had been swept away by brief hardship, or the ordinary course of nature. The posterity of the converts had melted down into the common mass. The averaged number of Mahometan slaves, at one time, in the Island, except a certain period in the fifteenth century, was about 500.

“In the rigorous reign of Charles VI (1459--1487) who carried his marine power to a more formidable height than any of his predecessors, and who waged a most destructive, predatory war on the coasts of Africa, Lyria and Natolia, the number of Mahometan's was greatly increased. In revenge for these assaults, a Turkish armament appeared upon the coast, and landed 20,000 soldiers. As this invasion had been long menaced, the king had long been busy in military preparation, and had been able to arm and discipline almost every male inhabitant. The slaves, already in the country, exceeded 10,000 persons. Many of these were women and children, but about 6000 of this number were of the robust age and sex.

“It had never been the Carsol custom to man their gallies with slaves. The captives were usually brought to market at Carsol, and sold indiscriminately. The male children were trained up to Christianity, in which case they were legally free at twenty-five years of age. The females were purchased for domestic services, and particularly as waiting maids to ladies. There were few wealthy or noble families without a female do-

mestic of this kind. The females easily adopted the religion of their masters, but their servitude was perpetual, unless ended by redemption from abroad, to which, however, their becoming Christians, was a legal obstacle. The children of these females were slaves, whether male or female, till 25.

“The destiny of male captives, was as different as the character and occupations of their masters. In general their tasks were severe, and their treatment harsh. Every master enjoyed, by law, unlimited power over his slave, and might even kill him with impunity. This power, so liable to abuse, was generally abused. Chains, stripes, scanty fare, rags and excessive labour, was commonly the lot of this unhappy race, and those efforts of despair and revenge, which were continually occurring among them, were punished with uncommon rigour by the general police.

“Till this period there had never been any general insurrection among the slaves. Every year, a score or two of fugitives, who had harboured in the mountains, and who preyed upon the neighbouring villages, were taken and subjected to some barbarous punishment; but now the sudden increase of their numbers, and the talents of one man among them, produced a very dangerous commotion.

“Achmet Pruli was a Syrian by birth, and had been taken by a Carsolian ship, when a child of four years old, together with his family, from his native village, on the coast. Being a remarkable tall, robust and resolute figure, he was taken by the reigning prince to be about the person of his son, afterwards Charles VI. His education was naturally supposed to have effaced all the impressions of his infancy, and he grew up into great favour and distinction with his prince. A bold, frank, ingenious mind, was supposed to be combined, in him, with gratitude, fidelity and a due portion of Christian zeal. So much confidence was placed in his talents and integrity, that he was at length intrusted with the command of the fortress of Larmi, in which were laid up arms for 10,000 men, and where he commanded a garrison of 200 men.

“Pruli had been a page and companion to the young prince, by whom he had always been treated with favour and distinction. The only disgust, which the prince had ever given to the slave,

originated in the appearance of a Greek girl, of great beauty, at the Carsol market. The prince, after seeing her by accident, had determined to purchase her, but not having the price in money about him, and the seller being loath to part with his property, without the money in possession, he engaged to return with the sum in gold at a fixed time, and meanwhile gave earnest to secure the bargain. His absence was prolonged a few hours beyond the time fixed for his return, by an unexpected difficulty in procuring the money. Having surmounted the obstacle, he hastened to complete his purchase, but the maid was already sold and gone, the seller having concluded that the first applicant had relinquished his intention.

“Zelia, the name of the maid, was a Samian, the daughter of a noble Greek of that Island. She had been carried off while bathing near the sea shore, by a Turkish pirate, who, in his way to a Caramanian port, was intercepted and taken by a Carsolian galley, who had brought their prize to the Carsol market. The prince, who understood Greek, gathered these particulars from her own lips, and his love and humanity at once urged him to make her his own. His grief and veneration, on finding her already disposed of, was quickly alleviated by discovering that Pruli had been the purchaser. Pruli was required forthwith to give her up, the money she had cost being returned to him.

“The beauty of his slave, heightened by grace and modesty, had inflamed the desires of Pruli, then in the flower of his age, to a pitch from which he could not readily reduce them at the bidding of another. He made every effort to retain his purchase which his situation would allow, but being finally compelled to resign her, the disappointment rankled in his heart, and engendered an inextinguishable thirst of vengeance. A regard to his own interest, and even to the interests of this revenge, obliged him to feign compliance with the wishes of the prince, and the latter, ascribing his reluctance to the attractions of the beautiful slave, and his ultimate compliance to his sentiments of gratitude and duty, his regard for Pruli was rather augmented than diminished by this incident, and the fortunate slave continued to make quick advances in the road of honour and fortune.

“The morality current in Carsol, allowed the master to exact what services he pleased from his slave. The latter lived for no end but the gratification of the former, and provided no cruelty was wantonly employed, there was no bounds to the reasonable demands of the lord, but such as mere physical capacities established. The female slave was considered as performing her mere duty, in gratifying her master’s appetites, and in bringing forth and nourishing those who will belong to him by the double title of father and master. Intercourse with the slave, was not considered as interfering with the rights of matrimony. No moral, nor ecclesiastical, nor legal cognizance was taken of such transactions.

“In the ardour of pillage, the Carsol adventurer seldom distinguished between the infidel Turk and the schismatic Greek. The Greeks of the Turkish provinces were treated like oxen and sheep, as the properties of enemies, and in the slave markets of Carsol, a captive of one nation was generally disposed of on the same terms as one of the other.

“Charles, the new master of Zelia, was regarded with so much tenderness by his captive, that she refused the liberty he offered her of returning to her family and country, and adopting the religion of Carsol, she was advanced to most of the privileges of a queen. The narrow escape which she had from the arms of the quondam, made her ever afterwards regard him with a kind of horror, at which his pride was mortally offended.

“In this state of mind his reflections turned upon the circumstances of his birth. Insensibly he laid aside all the feelings and habits, which had made his present abode as dear to him as the place of his nativity. His religion had been adopted without reflection. That of his ancestors was too convenient to the purposes of his revenge, and he found no difficulty in secretly reverting to it. As he ruminated on his darling purpose, his mind gradually enlarged his views, and he began to think it by no means impossible to restore the Island to its ancient obedience to Mahomet, and to make the cause of the true religion, instrumental at once to the success of his revenge and his ambition.

“When Charles the Sixth ascended the throne, this accomplished dissembler persuaded him to send him on a secret embassy, to the new sultan of Constantinople. He there negotiated with Mahomet the conquest of Carsol, by means of a foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. He returned to accomplish his part of this design, and obtained, from the unsuspecting prince, the command of the fort of Larmi.

“I shall not detail the various arts by which he lulled the prince into security, as to a Turkish invasion, by which he excited the hopes of the slaves, supplied them with the means of exchanging their thoughts, and assembling, concentrating and arming advantageously their numbers.

“The Turkish ministry, deceitful and treacherous themselves, were always suspicious of these qualities in others. They therefore flattered Pruli with assurances of formidable succour, and equipped a naval armament, which was to appear upon the coast of Carsol on the day appointed. They intended, however, merely to show themselves and retire, as this, if Pruli was sincere, would be a signal for the commencement of rebellion, and though this rebellion, unsupported, could not finally succeed, yet it could not fail of doing a great deal of mischief. If Pruli was insincere, or any accident should prevent the insurrection, their prudent reserve would expose them to no risk, and the navy might quietly proceed to its principal objects, Spain and Italy.

“By indefatigable efforts, by consummated address, and by a fortunate coincidence of events, Pruli conducted his designs to execution. The arrival of the Turkish fleet was the signal for raising arms, and fire and the sword began to deal destruction in every corner.

“Five thousand men, however bold and desperate, could only make a temporary impression on an Island, containing ten times their number, able to bear arms, and bearing the most vehement animosity towards them. After a memorable struggle of several months, the rebellion was finally extinguished in the blood of the rebels; but not till hardy ruffians had perpetrated all the devastation and ruin in their power. A remnant of 700 shut themselves up in Larmi. Here they underwent

the extremity of famine, and four fifths of their number being cut off by hunger and the sword, the rest sallied forth upon their besiegers and were entirely slaughtered.

“This event taught the Carsolians the danger of multiplying their slaves, and for some time this salutary terror prevented the admission of any captives, but women and children. Male captives, of a mature age, were taken to the neighbouring countries. This law, however, as the memory of the servile war began to vanish, fell into disuse, and slaves of all ages were indiscriminately admitted. No general disturbance arose from this source, in consequence, either of the scarcity of such resolute and enterprising spirits as Pruli, or of the rigid police to which the slaves were subjected.

“It was the policy of the four Alexanders to exempt their kingdom as much as possible from war. They negotiated a peace with the Mahometans, which they took infinite pains to maintain uninterrupted, and laboured with equal assiduity to avoid embroiling themselves in the quarrels and dissensions of the Christian princes. In both these designs, they had very formidable obstacles to encounter in the intrigues and menaces of their neighbours. They succeeded for the most part in preserving this neutrality, especially with the Moors and Othmans, and consequently their stock of slaves was no longer maintained or augmented from the usual sources. From the convenient position of Carsol, it was, however, much resorted to by the Maltese and other Christian corsairs, till this traffic was prohibited by the second Alexander.

“The rigour of the new tribunal, against heresy and infidelity, found few or no objects in the enslaved part of the society. It, however, put a total stop to the clandestine importation of slaves, which the civil government had been unable or unwilling to prevent. Though the terms of peace, between this kingdom and the Mussulmen, required the cessation of all hostilities, it had been impossible wholly to prevent the natives of Carsol from adventuring under foreign commissions, and from bringing their spoil into the Island. And as long as this indirect kind of war was unsuspected by the Turkish or Moorish governments, it met with the connivance of the Carsol. The evils of slavery were somewhat proportioned to the number of

slaves, but though less misery arose from the presence of 200 than 2000 slaves, the mischief, even in the former case, was not small.

“It appears egregiously unjust, to punish men for adhering to the faith, in which they were educated, in a country to which they are brought against their will. The proper objects of punishment were those who, in bringing them, violated at once the laws of their native country and of humanity; but the impossibility, which now existed, of retaining an infidel slave, effectually deterred any one from buying him, and no buyers being found in Carsol, captives were carried to other markets. Sanguinary and inhuman as this system appeared, its operation was highly salutary, and annihilated at once all the mischiefs which slavery produces. This general tendency, no doubt, recommended their measures to Praya, but his chief motive for embracing them was connected with religious duty.

“The adherents to the Greek and Armenian religions were involved in the common sentence against unbelievers. A little colony or factory of the latter sect or nation, had inhabited for many years, a street in Carsol, in which they had peaceably preserved the vocation of goldsmiths and merchants. The alternative of exile or conversion, was not refused to those who already bore the Christian name, nor was this alternative so hateful to such, as to Mahometans. The greater part of the Armenians made no difficulty in seeking the bosom of the Catholic church, and the rest, who, of course, were there, to whom their wealth and their mercantile resources, and connections, made removal no dreadful or difficult obligation, sought an habitation in other countries.

“The Greeks who, in early ages, were the colonists and civilizers of the Island, and who, in subsequent times, were its governors, may be supposed to have left very visible traces of their language, manners and religion behind them. The truth is, that in the province of Varingo, the whole body of the peasantry, and of the lower class, were of Grecian origin. Previous to the year 1301, this province, at all times mountainous, rocky and sterile, was principally inhabited by Saracen shepherds. These shepherds, hardy, bigotted and warlike, were the

most prompt and active in the rebellions, which terminated in the extinction of the whole race. By these commotions, the whole province was nearly reduced to a desert.

“At this time an insurrection took place in Crete, excited by religious persecution. The insurgents were headed by a kinsman of the Martels, who, being defeated in his designs, besought the king of Carsol to grant him and his followers an asylum in the Island. Their petition was granted, and the desolate hills of Varingo were assigned them for a dwelling. About 500 persons came over on this occasion. They insensibly multiplied till the population of the province had attained its customary level. They retained their language and religion, but, in all other respects, they assimilated with their neighbours and coalesced into one nation.

“Hecta was a Greek of Varingo, and his countrymen in this district, were the principal converts of the new saints. They shared the destruction of their leader, and the miserable remnant of the colony were exposed to all the prejudices of the conquerors.

“It was natural, though unreasonable, to ascribe the success of Hecta’s impieties, in some measure, to the foreign extraction and schismatical education of the people of Varingo. The devout were not disposed to maintain that the calamities lately suffered, were caused by the wrath of the deity against the nation, for enduring the presence of these schismatics so long, and the new zeal which their calamities had awakened, regarded the Greeks with nearly as much abhorrence as the Mussulmen and Calvinists.

“Hecta’s success was doubtless owing to the suspicions and jealousies continually kept alive, by the difference of faith between the Greeks and Latins. The former were regarded by the latter as aliens, who owed their original admission to charity, and the evidence of whose religion was an indulgence and not a right. The former, insulated by their mountains, their language and their faith, were naturally led to regard themselves as a distinct race, with interests separate from those of their neighbours. The late event had raised an insuperable bar to their coalition, and the new tribunal proclaimed irreconcilable war to Greeks. Varingo was peopled anew, by the Catho-

lics of the neighbouring provinces ; the few survivors of the civil war, even though faithful to the government, were compelled to abjure their religion or leave the country, and no stranger Greek was allowed to set his foot within the Island. Among the victims of this tribunal, for some years after its establishment, a few incorrigible or adventurous Greeks, were annually numbered, but they insensibly vanished from the catalogue.

“ While such is the nature of man, that diversities in religious opinions, though merely metaphysical and speculative, inevitably generate hostile sentiments among them, an absolute uniformity of faith is highly beneficial. Uniformity, even in error, in points that have little or no connection with practical or social duties, is better than dissension. An enlightened mind may not recognize the influence of divine truth, in the maxims and spirit of this tribunal, and yet if religious uniformity was a national blessing, and if the means adopted were the only efficacious means to produce or maintain it, they must be allowed to have a divine sanction. If the will of God be beneficence, they who pursue the good of mankind, perform that will, and since nothing would have given birth to this tribunal, but such pleas and such pretexts as were actually used, it would perhaps have been the duty of Praya to have feigned the belief which he avowed, of being originally stimulated by an express revelation (in a dream) of Santa Vesta.

“ Previous to Hecta’s rebellion, this little kingdom was divided among several religions. Some Protestants, some Armenians, some Mahometans and some Jews, were found principally in the cities. In the fields and villages were discovered both Catholics and Greeks. The people were further distinguished by two languages, one a dialect of Greek, and the other of Latin. They were likewise divided into two classes, of freemen and slaves. Twenty years after Hecta’s rebellion, all diversities of language and religion had entirely vanished, the distinction between freedom and servitude, between foreigner and native, among residents, with all the jarrings and diversities of jurisdiction flowing from this motley assemblage, were no more. The new generation were as flourishing and numerous as the former, but they formed one body infinitely more

compact and simple, and their harmony and energy bore a much greater proportion to their number, than at any former period.

“ Though Praya never suffered a person, arrested and brought to Letza, to leave these walls alive, he was by no means hasty in taking this irrevocable measure. He generally afforded the accused the alternative of banishment. Though not suffered to know his accuser, or to repel by arguments or evidence, the accusation, he usually received a secret mandate to depart the kingdom forever. In issuing this mandate, he considered the circumstances of the culprit, and rendered his fate as easy to him as the great ends of his justice would admit.

“ From the authority of this tribunal, no one was exempted by his rank or profession. The king and the archbishop were equally amenable to this tribunal, with the most obscure monk or peasant. In the laws, by which it was created, and which had received the solemn and unanimous consent, no exceptions were made as to the persons subject to its jurisdiction, and the crimes committed to its cognizance, were all such words, writings or actions which, in the opinion of the judge, were directly or indirectly injurious to the Catholic faith. Of the precise dogmas of this faith, he alone was despotic arbiter, from whose judgments there was no appeal. In this manner did the whole society combine to put, not their property, reputation or liberty, but their lives, into the hands of one man. This man was to be chosen for life, by three-fourths of the whole synod.

“ A power, thus apparently without limits, was, however, bounded by those invisible, but insuperable hedges, which popular opinion creates. The exact nature and extent of these hedges were never ascertained, during the administration of Praya. His wisdom and equity was cautious never to overstep these hedges, nor even to approach them. The unbounded veneration paid to his personal character, the awe created by the mysterious energy of his proceedings, and the long duration of his life, clothed him, in the apprehension of all classes, with attributes next to divine, and allowed him to stretch his power further than any other individual could have done in the same office; but these very circumstances, by giving the office the

sanction of antiquity and usefulness, could not fail to enlarge and strengthen the authority of his successors.

“There are several instances recorded, which show the profound submission, the sacred kind of awe, in which this institution was held. After long experience of the unalterable nature of its proceedings, its mandates came to be obeyed like those of a physical necessity. No one ventured to dispute the order frequently given to depart the Island. Fear even stifled his murmurs, and as to expostulate was vain, despair assumed the appearance of resignation. Many, on receiving the order of arrest, were known to kill themselves immediately, and many expired of terror before they reached the castle.

“The sixteenth century was distinguished by the reign of four princes in succession, by the name of Alexander. Their characters were in many respects uniform, and widely different from that of their predecessors. Their policy approached more nearly to the standard of political wisdom. They were eminently distinguished by their love of literature and the arts, and signalized their devotion to the muses, by a more uniform and consistent conduct, than the Florentine princes of the preceding age had done. In their conduct towards other nations, they showed nothing of that restless, turbulent, ambitious spirit so common among contemporary princes. To maintain peace, encourage commerce and protect the arts, was the motto which they chose, and their maxims they carried into practice with no small success.

“The Turkish empire, which was rapidly ascending to its zenith, was a formidable object to all the Christian nations. The Carsol princes maintained inviolable peace with that power. Zegim, the brother of Bajazet, who sought refuge in Rhoads, and was thence transferred to Carsol, was kept in captivity till his death, and gave these princes considerable advantages in their negotiations with the Turks. This took place in the preceding century.

“On the expulsion of the knights from Rhoads, the first Alexander gave them the Island of Malta.

“The Alexanders, while they carefully resisted all temptations and allurements to enter into foreign wars, endeavoured to secure the integrity of their own kingdom, by a well disci-

plined and military force, and by raising every where the most impregnable fortresses. They governed the baronial aristocracy with great energy and wisdom, and enjoyed a more extensive power than had been known before in this Island. They laboured to soften and humanize the manners of the nobility, to collect them about the court, and make them pliable and docile. The nobles were deprived of some of their most injurious prerogatives, and the royal authority established upon a deep, though equitable basis.

“ They revived and cherished the study of ancient literature. The Greek and Latin writers were made the fashionable manuals. Painters, sculptors, architects, musicians and poets, were invited and cherished by pecuniary and honorary rewards, by learned establishments and liberal institutions.

“ Eleven principal cities, including the capital, were walled round. One hundred convents were rebuilt; one hundred baronial castles were erected; one thousand two hundred churches were built, and all this by the princes themselves, or by the imitative spirit of the people.

“ For the honour and defence of the kingdom, a military and religious order was established, into which, all the nobility entered, and which subsisted in great vigour, during the whole of the Alexandrian period. To this institution, these princes were indebted chiefly for the stability of their government and the refinement which took place in the manners of the higher classes. Laying aside the system of mercenary warfare, prevalent among the neighbouring nations, honour, religious zeal, patriotism and personal attachment to the Alexandrian family, and to the head of the order, who was always the reigning prince, were made the ruling passions of this body of knights.

“ The similarity in sound, induces the dealers in etymologies to derive the name of Martil from Mars, the god of battles. The ingenious flattery of poets easily created a pedigree for this line, similar to that of Romulus and Remus, and the descent of this family, from Charles Martil, of the eighth century, gave them, in the opinion of their enthusiastic subjects, a right to the French throne. This, however, was merely an antiquarian fancy, and formed rather to gratify a visionary pride, than to influence policy or conduct.

"The first conqueror of Mallorca, acquired a species of religious merit, by rescuing the Christians of the Isle from the yoke of infidels. He was naturally regarded as a kind of saviour, not only in a political, but also in a spiritual sense. He was, doubtless, their benefactor, in as high and absolute sense as was possible for mere mortality to permit. The power he acquired, was administered with wisdom, justice and clemency, and his character must extort the homage of every impartial observer. To the best moral and political qualities, he added personal majesty, strength and beauty, such as the sculptors of old imagined to be characteristic of divinities. Added to this, he was famous for his Catholic piety, and dying by the hand of those whom he had subdued and expelled, he was naturally placed among the list of martyrs. All these circumstances combined to give him an indisputable title to the honours of a saint, and as such he was worshipped by his successors and their subjects. His churches, reliques, priests and miracles occupied a considerable space in the worship of his subjects. His birth-day, the day of his landing in the Island, and the day of his death, were among the most holy and solemn festivals.

"Among twenty convents, eleven were possessed by a monastic order, formed a few years after his death, and called, after him, Carsolines. The number of monks was 220. They were formed to perpetuate and sanctify the memory and actions of this prince. Nine of them were nunneries, belonging to the same order. In these convents, those of the royal families who embraced the monastic life, took refuge. They performed daily one mass for the soul of St. Charles. Some incident in his life, afforded occasion for one festival at least, weekly, throughout the year. To each of these festivals, a particular service, consisting of hymns, prayers and ceremonials were adopted.

"These institutions originated with Alphonso Martil, fourth archbishop of Palma, in the year 1333, and with Agnes, queen of Mallorca, in 1370. The nunneries were founded by the queen. The liberty of self government, was originally bestowed upon all these institutions, but in process they became insensibly subjected to the influence and controul of the monasteries, of the successors of the archbishop, and the nunneries of

those of the queen. To appoint the heads of these houses, became a prerogative of the reigning queen and the ruling prelate.

“Cuslem had given the force of a fundamental law, to the rule that the archbishop of Palmo should be filled only with a priest of the race of Martil, and that the kings should take their consorts only from that branch of their family, which were counts of Florac. In this manner the purity of this race, and the harmony of the ecclesiastical and civil administration was preserved in a remarkable degree.

“Persons thus set apart, for the express purpose of adoring the memory of the first Charles, might be expected to cultivate the virtues, and scrutinize the actions of their chosen divinity. These institutions might be imagined peculiarly favourable to the growth of virtues and talents similar to his, but the same circumstances that determined how far Christians resemble *Christ*, determined the resemblance between the Carsolines and him, to whom they owed their existence and their name. The duty of this order was, not to imitate his conduct as a general, a king, a parent or a citizen, but merely to estrange themselves from the converse of mankind, to practice abstinences and mortifications, to perform on anniversaries, processions and rites, symbolical of the principal events of his life, to guard his consecrated reliques, and to chant before his picture, or his statue, hymns and prayers. These hymns were composed by the archbishop Alphonso, in Latin, rude in style, but not without some variety and energy in sentiment.

“The Alexanders being in a more enlightened age, and truly comprehending the merits of their great ancestor, were naturally led to wish for a kind of homage and commemoration worthy of his character. Their education had created a kind of political indifference to all religions, but habit and a warm imagination made them friendly to the Catholic worship, which is, in many respects, so faithful a resemblance to the enchanting superstition of the Greeks and Romans. They were, therefore, by policy and inclination, though not by principle, its strenuous patrons and adherents; but while they were ardently attached to the Roman form and ritual, they were anxious to exalt and

adorn them by infusing into them a spirit and classic elegance, more worthy of themselves.

“The Carsoline convents were, most of them, 153 years old. They were constructed in an antiquated style of architecture, chiefly of brick, though spacious and solemn, had no pretensions to genuine beauty or magnificence. Many of them were defaced by time, or mutilated by violence, or damaged by fire. The only literature cherished or cultivated in them, was scholastic divinity, the history, poetry and laws of the middle ages. Their tenants had no knowledge beyond the boundaries of Christianity, and the prospects opened in the preceding century, into the ages that preceded Constantine, were utterly unknown to them. One sacred branch of their duty was to enable the children in their demesnes to read, write and reason, and to initiate some of them, more promising than others, into their Canonical Latin, and into the subtleties of Scotus and Aquinas. From the latter they chose their own successors. To be minutely versed in their own voluminous breviary, containing no less than sixty distinct religious offices, was an arduous attainment. To have these by rote, to be thoroughly familiar with the tedious commentaries, with which different abbots had loaded them, and to be severely exemplary in every monastic duty, was the consummation of human excellence.

“One department in these houses, consisted in keeping a faithful journal of all domestic transactions, a sort of chronicle, in which every thing connected with the institution was carefully recorded. The exact degree of merit in these chronicles, depended somewhat upon the natural capacity of the scribe. Their extent was influenced by his habits of observation and industry, but being limited to their own particular affairs, they could seldom be of any general importance or intrinsic value.

“These monks rarely looked, for subjects of history, beyond the limits of their own walls or demesnes. This, however, was no invariable rite. Some among them, endowed with more than ordinary curiosity, ventured to look abroad, and as they were denied all intercourse with the present race of mankind, they endeavoured, by means of books, to gain some knowledge of the past. The actions of their peculiar saint, became of course a principal object of their attention.

“The first Charles was attended, during his whole life, by Nicholas Kampsî, a sort of page or squire, who, after the death of his master, and in his old age, was smitten with a strong desire of narrating his history. Kampsî, till sixty years of age, could neither read or write, but then, in pursuit of this new design, he applied with so much diligence to letters, that, in a short time, he became qualified to hold a pen. This remarkable person must have been naturally endowed with very strong powers of mind, and especially with a memory wonderfully tenacious. He has produced a very artless and honest, but a most picturesque and circumstantial narrative of his own life and that of his master. This work forms one of the most faithful and valuable pictures of the thirteenth century that is extant.

“This work claimed the attention of the monks. It was carefully transcribed and deposited in all their libraries, and was studied, though with much less zeal and attention than another chronicle, which contained the spiritual exploits of this hero, before and after his death. This history of the special revelations made from heaven in his favour, and of the miracles performed at his tomb, was written by Salviati, a priest whom Charles brought with him from Palestine, and placed in his chapel at Florac. These works afforded principal scope to the literary curiosity, the pious meditations, and the elaborate penmanship of Carsoline monks and nuns. Some poetical fathers had added to the narrative, the ornaments of verse, and had built upon it ballads and epics without number. It was surprising how voluminously furnished were the archives or libraries of these convents, a century and an half after their institution.

“These convents were rebuilt, by the Alexanders, on a new plan, in which the classical spirit of the architecture was displayed on a most ample and magnificent scale. Every expedient was made use of to incorporate the taste, language and studies of the Augustan and Pevelian age, with the education of these convents. These measures being pursued indefatigably for several years, a total revolution finally took place in these establishments. Music, poetry, sculpture and painting combined their powers to adorn the libraries. galleries and

chapels of these convents. The ancient writers began to be sought after, copied, studied and imitated with enthusiasm. A curtain seemed to be suddenly lifted, behind which, the scenes and transactions of the Greek and Roman worlds had hitherto been concealed. The new born spectacle ravished the beholder with surprise and delight, and to examine it more nearly, to scrutinize it in all its parts, became a vehement and universal passion.

“The fruits of this enthusiasm, became manifest, in the familiar use, in writing and conversation, of the Latin and Greek languages, in all their purity. Xenophon and Cicero became the manuals of the monks and nuns, as well as of courtiers and ambassadors.

“Innumerable pens aspired to imitate these pristine models, and in history and poetry, the genius of Livy and Virgil were reanimated, and exercised those themes with the memorable revolutions of Mallarco. This, in fine, was the golden age of Mallorcan literature.

“Under the auspices of the two first Alexanders, the conventual modes of worship underwent various reformatations. Instead of barbarous homilies, uncouth rhymes and monotonous tones, the early orators and fathers of the church—hymns written in the style and spirit of sublime poetry, and polished latinity and new graces, and new principles of music were generally adopted in religious service, and especially in that of the Carsoline convents.

“The monastic orders in this Island were different from these established in any other country. They were all peculiar to itself, and to the local religion. In describing the religion of a Catholic country, it is not sufficient to relate the ordinary tenets of the Roman Church. These tenets allow worship to be paid to persons subordinate to the divinity, and every Catholic nation, city, and almost every individual, has a peculiar object of worship. The modes of worship, and the moral and social obligations incumbent on the pious, are diversified without end, and the bond which maintains harmony and unity between such multifarious sects, the power is scarcely visible. Thus the Deities, which receive constant worship in Carsol, are

totally unknown in other countries. Their festivals, their rites, their hymns and the duty of their votaries, were in almost all respects peculiar to the Island.

“The Deity was an object of speculative belief. The name of Christ was familiar to all, but his history and precepts were known only to a few scholars. Little else than the mere names of the primitive disciples and apostles were known, even to deans and curates, but the divinities familiar to every one’s imagination, whose countenance and form were exhibited in colours and marble to all eyes, the visible and tangible remains of whose terrestrial bodies lay beneath tombs, to which all had access, were the first founders of the true religion, and the last restorer of it in Mallorca. Churches were dedicated to these, prayers were addressed to them, they were imagined to exist corporeally in an higher sphere, to have their attention entirely engrossed by the welfare and concerns of their native Isle, to be invested by God with a delegated superintendence over it, and to confer every benefit which the nation or the individual experienced. Vows and petitions were exclusively addressed to them, and they were properly the objects of public and of private gratitude.

“The name of the eldest of these Deities was Clara Vesta. She was the only daughter of the last Greek prince of the Island, who was slain by a band of Vandals from Spain. The great beauty of the princess preserved her from the common ruin. After many trials, to which her sanctity was exposed, she became the wife of the Barbarian prince, and the mother of a line of princes, who maintained their throne till the coming of the Saracens, a period of 400 years.

“The Christians of Carsol owed numberless obligations to this princess. By her powerful influence, she checked the sanguinary career of victory, prevented a general massacre of all the natives, and converted the conqueror himself, from an enemy to Christians, to an ardent devotee. After the death of her husband, she withdrew, with nine daughters, to a convent of her own erecting, and which continues to this day. There she spent a long life in devout seclusion, adored by the Islanders, whom she continued to benefit by the wholesome councils

she gave to the princes, her posterity, and by the exercise of prophetic and miraculous powers.

“The general facts in the history of this personage, are by no means improbable. They are related and repeated in various chronicles, written during the dominion of the Vandals, and which accounts were preserved amidst the devastations of the Saracen government. They are vividly preserved in the traditional tales and ditties of the people, who, from the time of her death to our own age, have adored her as their tutelary Deity. And if, as some pretend, the most rational religion is that which consecrated the memory of public benefactors, Clara Vesta may justly be considered as deserving of divine honours.

“After the expulsion of the Saracens, the honours of this Goddess became once more public and general. Those buildings which, from churches had become mosques, were restored to their ancient title and Deities.

“Clara Vesta’s nine daughters, who formed her original communities, and who partook of the maternal sanctity and glory, became, also, objects of a kind of secondary worship. As the mother was the general Deity, her daughters are regarded as delegates and substitutes, who take charge of particulars, orders, communities, cities, villages or churches. Each of them has a sphere, determined either by local boundaries, or by distinction in rank, employment or profession, in which their exclusive guardianship and jurisdiction is acknowledged. This celestial beauty is supposed to bear somewhat more than a casual relation to the ecclesiastical division, into ten episcopal dioceses, and while the archbishop is considered as a kind of visible agent or minister, of Clara Vesta herself, his ten suffragans are looked upon as the agents of her divine daughters. The names of these daughters offered, perhaps, some proof of their authenticity, since they are all of Greek origin—Sophia, Kloa, Agnes, Nika, Rhoda, Kopsa, Helena, Cassandra, Mosca, Lora.

“On a very slender basis, afforded by true history, the prolific fancy of those who imagined the creatures of mere musing, or slumber, to be revelations from the Deity, or who believed

that falsehoods, which may benefit some and injure no one, are allowable, is able to build the most ponderous and complicated structures. Thus the history of these eleven personages, detailed with the most minute and circumstantial accuracy, formed, for many ages, the favourite reading of the studious whether lay or clerical. Each of them has the principal events of her life authenticated by reference to the places where they happened. Their bones are still preserved; many relicks of their dress, manuscripts of their own inditing, their countenance and figure are all preserved; poets have celebrated their virtues, and painters displayed their portraits and actions in their canvass, sculptures embody them in brass and marble, and the populace bestow the most entire belief on all that the monastic libraries relate concerning them.

“The merit connected with religious seclusion, produced its natural effects in this Island. During the fourteenth century, more than ninety convents were revived, or founded by those who was desirous of obtaining divine favour, through the influence of St. Vesta and her daughters, and of St. Charles Martel. To these twelve divinities, were principally dedicated the services of these various orders. At the accession of the first Alexander (1520) there were seven convents of the order of St. Lora, six of St. Mosca, eight of Cassandra, eleven of Helena, three of Kopsa, nine of Rhoda, eight of Nika, two of Agnes, three of Kloa, and seventeen of Sophia. To Clara Vesta herself, were dedicated fourteen convents. The rules of these various communities varied very much from each other, and some of them were very singular.

“The monastic profession always implied some mortification or self-denial. Its duties were either positive or negative. The latter consisted in obligations to abstain from all intercourse, even social, with the other sex; from all artificial liquors: and from flesh. The former consisted in adhering to a certain dress and dialect, pursuing certain civil employments and performing certain religious duties.

“The daughters of Vesta were frequently denominated numerically, in the order of their birth. Thus they were designated by the appellation of Diva Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quar-

ta, Sexta, Septima, Octava, Nona and Decima. Their respective orders were sometimes called Primia, Dinia, Zervia, &c.

“The severity of duty was not equal in all their orders. It was the heaviest in the first and lightest in the last.

“Each house was governed by a head, who held this situation for life, was originally chosen from among their own number, by the members of the house, and was subject, in his turn, to a common head or chief, who held, under various restrictions, the government of the whole order. The heads of the houses were Patres or Matres: the head of order, Patroni or Matroni.

“In the domestic society of the house, between its members and in all religious offices, and in fine, on all occasions whatever, no language was allowed to be used but the Latin. To speak the vulgar tongue, on any occasion, was an offence rigorously prohibited. The head of the order was exempt from this obligation, and he was empowered to exempt others from it by his special licence. This relaxation was dictated by obvious necessity, and was understood to extend only to such cases.

“A consequence of this rule was that to all conventual people, this language became, in some sort, their native tongue. By long disuse, both in reading and speaking, the language of their country was forgotten, and many older monks and nuns would have been unable to profit by this licence, when afforded them.

“From certain causes, somewhat peculiar to this island, the language acquired an extraordinary degree of sanctity. The clergy universally considered it as their peculiar dialect, and adopted the use of it in writing among themselves, as a privilege rather than a duty.

“All the monastic orders were limited to the use of salt and milk, with its various preparations, meat, and water to drink. This was a rule common to them all. A power of dispensing with the observance of it was lodged in the patrons or matrons, with regard to whom this singular distinction existed, that, though he could dispense with the observance of general rules

in others, his own obligation to adhere to them was unalterable. This expedient was probably adopted in order to preserve the head, as much as possible, from corruption, and to prevent their claims upon his indulgence which might be built upon his own example.

“The only material allowed in their dress was wool among the men, and cotton among the women. No very great uniformity existed between the different orders with regard to the texture, shape, or colour of their robes. Among females it was ordered that every part should be covered but the head and hands, which were prohibited from ever being so. The female ornament was the hair, which was long or short, and flowing or constrained according to special customs or directions. Within certain limits, the conventical was at liberty to consult inclination, fashion, taste, or convenience, in dress. By this rule every metallic appendage, ornamental or useful, all leather, cork, and all cosmetic articles were proscribed.

“The ten orders of nuns were distinguished by the colour of their dress. White, black, rose, yellow, three shades of blue, and as many of green. All mixtures of colours were prohibited to the white and black nuns. The others were allowed to use white provided their principal upper garment was of the prescribed hue.

“Though there were no pristine or fundamental regulation, as to the form of dress, custom and particular decrees had introduced a peculiarity and uniformity in this respect between the members of the same convent, and of the same order. Under the Alexanders taste and elegance penetrated even the recesses of the convents, and the texture and fashion of monastic dress manifested great improvement.

“It was unlawful for nuns or monks to wear garments which were not entirely manufactured under their own roofs. The raw wool or cotton was received, and their own hands spun, wove, dyed, and fashioned the cloth. In this way every convent was a kind of manufactory, the overplus of whose products could only be applied in charity.

“The great duty of these societies consisted in worshipping their peculiar deity. This worship consisted, in the first place,

in chanting hymns to her honour. As a copious legend related the acts of piety and heroism ascribed by fancy or tradition, to the nymph, these hymns found sufficient topics in their acts: poetry embellished her exploits by a more diffuse narration; by figures, by rhyme and by numbers. These numbers were adapted to vocal and instrumental music, but being originally constructed in the infancy of learning, taste, and the arts, they were abundantly meagre and rude. The conventical poetry and music was not wholly unaffected by that progress in general improvement of which Carsol partook, in common with the neighbouring nations. Under the Alexandrine princes, when the inhabitants of convents began to taste all the treasures of antiquity, this poetry and music experienced great improvement. The ancient topics and distribution of topics had been made sacred by time, but the purest latinity, as well as chastest fancy supplanted the ancient dulness and sterility. Music invented new principles and new instruments, and sculpture called the figures of the tutelary power out of marble.

“A remarkable peculiarity of the Carsol religion was the condemnation of all symbols but those produced by statuary and sculpture, and the prohibition of wearing any material for these symbols but white marble or porphyry. The history of this peculiarity is very remarkable. This people entertain the same conscientious scruples against the use of painting or music in religious worship, and against the use of any stone but marble or porphyry, or any colour but white, in the relievos and statuary of their altars, as protestants or mussulmen do against any kind of picture or statue. In this respect they seem to occupy a middle place between these hostile sects and the Romish system.

“Christianity was introduced into this island at an early period. The Carsol historians ascribe this blessing to the ministry of Timon, or Timotheus, mentioned in the Epistles of St. Paul. There is preserved, in the Timothine church of Tenina, an ancient parchment said to be an epistle of Timotheus to the inhabitants of this town, where he is universally believed to have spent his old age, and to have died. The bones of this saint were contained in a tomb, around which the first Christian

church was built. When Tenina was taken and destroyed by the Saracens, this church, whither a great number of women and children had taken refuge, was burnt, with all the wretches it contained. Previous to the entry of the Saracens, however, tradition related that Telen, the bishop of the place, and regular successor of Timotheus, opened the grave of the saint, and put his bones into a small stone box. With this treasure in his arms, he mounted the roof of the church, and thence was conveyed in sight of the whole city, by a band of angels, to the recesses of the neighbouring mountain.

“Felix, it seems, had persuaded the people to shut their gates against their enemy, assuring them that God intended merely to try their faith to the utmost, and provided they held out firmly to the last, would exert a miraculous power for their preservation. These exhortations enabled them to make an obstinate resistance. Famine, disease, and the sword of the enemy at length vanquished their enthusiasm. They hearkened to favourable terms of capitulation, and Felix, finding them invincible in their new resolutions, predicted the destruction that would follow, and declared that the bones of their deserted patron should not be exposed to profanation. His predictions were verified. Regardless of their promises to leave the inhabitants their lives, property, and religion, the besiegers no sooner were admitted than churches, dwellings, and people were at once annihilated by fire and the sword.

“A mountain in the neighbourhood of Timna was remarkable for caverns almost inaccessible. The devotees of succeeding times delighted to occupy caves which this incident had made so memorable. The city, however, was for some ages, desolate and solitary. Timon, who had been hitherto the tutelary saint of the isle, and had inspired his worshippers with uncommon obstinacy in their resistance of the Saracens, was regarded by those conquerors with peculiar hatred. Hence their severity against his sanctuary, and the last strong hold of the Christians. They razed all the churches dedicated to his honour, and were careful to suppress his shrines, pilgrimages and festivals.

“Timna owed its population, not to any local convenience

or advantage, for it was situated among rocks and precipices in the heart of the country, but merely to the sanctity derived from the birth and the reliques of Timon. This sanctity being withdrawn, the enmity of the conquerors was seconded by popular indifference.

“When the Christian power was re-established, the mosque and fortress erected on the ruins of the church of Timna, was converted into somewhat like a monastery. The Moorish temple became a Christian chapel, which was sanctified by being the ancient residence of Timon.

“The Saracens had less reason to persecute the memory of Vesta than of Timon. Hence the general devotion was almost concentrated in the former and her daughters, and her supremacy was too well established at the coming of the Martels to give place to the apostle. This pre-eminence was rendered still more stable by the general belief that the first Charles was prompted to the invasion of Carsol by a dream, in which Vesta had appeared to him, and exhorted him to undertake the enterprise. This story was given out by Martel as his motive to the undertaking, and whether a real dream, or only feigned to secure success to his arms, the rumour kindled the enthusiasm of his followers, and of the Carce themselves, and no doubt contributed greatly to the success of his efforts.

“A priest and ten monks were consecrated by Charles to the service of the chapel at Timna. The general curiosity was greatly excited with regard to the fate of the Saint and his reliques. The story of their miraculous flight, and their concealment in the recesses of the neighbouring hills, had by no means been blotted from the memory of the pious by the lapse of five centuries. Though during the kingdom of the Arabs, various tales had been current of their recovery by certain hermits, who successively passed their lives on this hill. These tales had never been generally or fully credited.

In this state of things the priest of this chapel dreamed, about the year 1315, that a venerable man appeared beside his couch, and announcing himself as the primitive apostle, directed him to a certain spot in the mountain, where his bones, so long concealed, were deposited in a marble box, together with

a writing composed by the Saint's own hand. This dream was solemnly related by the priest to the bishop of Timosa and king Charles II, and the dreamer being famous for his sanctity, they ordered the spot pointed out to be examined. The box, with the bones of a man, and a writing upon parchment cased in oak were found agreeably to the dream. These reliques were deposited beneath the altar of the chapel; the monastic body was enlarged; the whole fortress of Timna was assigned to their use; this shrine became the resort of pilgrims; and before it the princes received their crown from the bishop of Timosa. The popular zeal was anew excited by this circumstance. Convents dedicated to Timon were established in various places. During the first half of the fourteenth century forty monasteries were established by the order of Timothite.

"In the dissolution of the Roman power in Carsol, the royal authority naturally devolved on the bishops of Timosa, the successors of Timotheus. They were elected by a monastic fraternity or chapter of thirteen persons, who performed religious offices in the cathedral of Timosa. This kind of theocracy existed for two or three centuries, and was not dissimilar to the authority exercised in the Roman territory by the popes.

"The Vandals speedily adopted the religion of their subjects, and the pontifical power became nearly as absolute as before. The whole political authority was divided between the bishop of Timosa and the Vandal prince. They neither of them acknowledged a superior in Constantinople or Rome.

"The annals of Carsol relate, that Timon was a native of this island, a Greek by descent, and a Roman citizen of eminence. That he was born in Timosa, which with the neighbouring lands was his patrimony. That he travelled in his youth to Rome and Athens. In the former place he met St. Paul, became his convert and companion, and finally undertook the conversion of his native Island. He began with his ancient tenants, from whom he formed the earliest Christian congregation. At his death he named his successor, and at the same time appointed thirteen persons, who, together with the bishop, were to govern the society, and from whose number, perpetually renewed by their own election, future bishops were to be

taken. The birth of this apostle is fixed at the year ten of the Christian era, and his death in the year ninety-one. From him to the present time a regular and uninterrupted series of bishops of Timosa is recorded. Their whole number, including the first, is one hundred and eight. The names, characters, and principal events in the life of all these are still preserved, and the voluminous detail, whatever infidelity foreigners may entertain of its truth, was, till the succession of the Carrils, an object of religious belief among the Carse.

“The theological library of Carsol is extremely extensive. It consists of the chronicles, homilies, meditations, and epistles of a great number of these bishops and of others. The work of greatest sanctity among them are the original epistles of Timon.

“I have just related the manner in which these epistles were preserved. The existence of such a manuscript, previous to the Saracen invasion, is generally acknowledged ; but the copies made from it during that period, and distributed among churches and convents, were totally destroyed by the followers of Mahomet. These rulers had been exasperated by repeated efforts to shake off their yoke, and knowing the efficacy of a sacred book to keep alive enthusiasm, they had taken infinite pains to destroy every copy of this. They had apparently succeeded, but the auspicious vision of the monk of Timna convinced the nation that heaven had not entirely deserted them.

“As these islanders considered Timon as their sole and peculiar apostle, their religious faith was built entirely upon his writings. They were early distinguished in the christian world, as a sect which rejected all the apostolical writings but these. Hence their appellation of Timonites. These writings contained a concise biography of Christ, and several doctrinal and monitory epistles.

“They boasted of possessing these writings in the hand of the original composer, together with his bones. This double treasure formed the palladium of the nation, with the possession of which their temporal safety was as inseparably connected, as their eternal welfare was with the profession of the faith they contained. They were consequently deposited in a very strong fortress in the centre of a lake already mentioned un-

der the name of Timosa, and I have already related the manner of their loss.

“While this palladium was safe, no defeats or misfortunes could persuade the people that their opposition to the Arab invaders was desperate. As soon as it was lost, there was nothing that could reanimate their confidence. We may easily imagine the transports of universal joy which attended their recovery under the second Charles. From the first dream of the monk Felix to the actual restoration of these reliques there elapsed fourteen days. It was solemnly decreed that the future year should commence on the anniversary of the first of these days. That the fourteen should be one continued festival, in which the whole business of the society should be social emulation and religious gratitude. This grand festival commences on the 4th of February every year.

“The Alexanders signalized their magnificence and piety, by erecting at Timosa, a sort of temple and fortress, on a plan of greater solidity and magnitude than any preceding structure on the same spot. In it were united the temple, the monastery, the palace and the castle. The work was begun in the year 1521, and diligently pursued to its completion in 1560, by two thousand workmen, a period of forty-one years. Long as this period is and great as is this number of workmen both appear too small when we examine carefully this structure.

“The religion of the Timonites was different in many respects from that of the neighbouring nations. Within their narrow sphere there was room enough for innumerable sects, which agreed with each other in nothing but in acknowledging no other authority than the remains of Timon. Their ecclesiastical history exhibits a various picture. Its earliest scenes displayed the struggles of the new religion against the paganism of the natives, and the persecuting rage of some of the Roman emperors. Two centuries and an half elapsed between the extinction of Paganism and the invasion of the Vandals. During this time, several sects were successively dominant, but the tenets of Vesta being adopted by the conquerors, the worship of the country became pretty uniform. There were al-

ways dissidents, but they composed always a very small minority.

“ Under the iron yoke of the Saracens, the various sects insensibly coalesced into one, and the Martels, though educated in superstitious veneration for the church of Rome, found it necessary to leave the rescued nation in quiet possession of their tenets and their mode of worship.

“ The Roman pontiffs naturally regarded an island so much in the centre of their ecclesiastical empire, with eyes of desire. The invasion of Martel was a kind of crusade, in the success of which the popes imagined their own interest principally involved. They urged Martel to the enterprize, not only for the sake of expelling infidels, but of reducing schismatics to the dominion of the church. Happily, however, for the people of Carsol, their conqueror, in the midst of his religious zeal, had a large and comprehensive understanding. He perceived the injustice of tearing from this class of christians, their favourite belief, and indeed, was thoroughly convinced that the undertaking was impossible. He eluded therefore, the demands and expectations of the court of Rome, and his contumacy being finally punished by excommunication, he made his quarrel with the pope irreparable, and completed his union with his new subjects, by solemnly embracing their religion and restoring their hierarchy to the state in which it was in the time of the Vandals.

“ The pretensions of the pope excited many broils in succeeding times. According to the temper and character of the Carsol pontiffs and kings, their authority in this island augmented or declined. The warm attachment of the princes to the Timonite creed; to their own dignity and independence, was an insuperable barrier to these pretensions.

“ Numberless conferences and negociations were carried on, in order to reconcile the Carsol and Romish churches; that is, to bring the former into subjection to the latter. By dint of repetition and perseverance this enterprize was finally accomplished. The general supremacy of the pope was acknowledged. His schemes, particularly the Calendaria, for drawing a reve-

nue from the country, were tolerated. His sanction of the choice of patriarch, being required, naturally led the way to other encroachments, and by the cunning and incessant efforts of four centuries, the ecclesiastical independence of the island was almost entirely subverted.

“ No innovation has, however, been made in the modes of faith and worship. A kind of political authority has been invested in the pope, over the revenues and officers of the church, but the speculative dogmas of the Romish creed have been carefully excluded. The order of events has been opposite to that which has taken place in many christian nations, where the papal power over officers and revenues has frequently been destroyed, while the unity of faith and worship has been unimpaired.

“ The worship of the Carce is a kind of medium between the gross and bloody rules of paganism, and the abstractions of some sects of christians. It is a stranger to the sacrifice of living creatures. No blood of unoffending innocence is shed at the altar of its deity, in the name of propitiation or atonement.

“ As no efficacy is ascribed to the agonizing cries of animals, or the fumes rising from their warm blood, neither is any value placed upon the odour of burning *Thus*. No smoke of incense is ever seen in their temples, nor is their deity imagined to be any wise accessible through the medium of smell.

“ They differ nevertheless from those who imagine that God’s omniscience his universal existence, and his unalterable energy of his general government, together with his exemption from all human passions, abolish the necessity or use of any kind of worship which consists in oral supplication or thanksgiving, and which sanctifies one language, one dress, one time or one place beyond another : or rather, from this very opinion they derive an argument for limiting this kind of worship to those who were once mortal, who though purified and exalted, have still a resemblance or identity with their former selves, who have carried into a state of new existence, all the good, without any of the bad qualities incident to human nature,

who nourish still the attachment to the region of their birth which they had while clothed in human bodies ; and are still actuated by the same passion for its welfare and felicity ; a passion joined with much greater wisdom and disjoined from all selfish and erroneous attributes.

“ The use of temples, festivals and prayers are not enjoined according to them, because their duties are more accessible at one time or place, or in one language rather than another. These are rendered necessary merely by the occupations and infirmities of mankind : who cannot, as experience proves, perform two things at once ; who can perform certain acts much better, with more fervour and attention, in some situations than in others. Their tutelary power is present and accessible at all times and places, but by setting apart times and places for the purpose of addressing him, and establishing certain preliminaries to the act, the imagination of the worshipper is more strongly disposed to such addresses. Thus does the use of temples, whose style of building and ornament possess beauty and grandeur, and is exclusively confined to the same uses, thus does a peculiar dialect, peculiar words, and peculiar melody become efficacious means of exciting and directing the imagination and thoughts in the desirable manner.

“ Those forms of worship which represent a sacrifice, either real or symbolical, they totally reject, because the notion of a sacrifice is in itself absurd or unintelligible, is adapted to produce no salutary effects on the understanding or the morals, and is wholly inapplicable to the objects of their worship. Hence the mass with all its appertenances and appendages are rejected from their system.

“ As the thoughts and feelings of true worshippers require to be fixed upon the conduct and examples of the objects of their adoration, the following means are thought to be highly serviceable to that end. First, the putting into words the actions and virtues of these personages ; and reciting them at times and in places connected with the actions and actors. By embodying the persons themselves in marble or other durable materials, and placing them in the domes consecrated to this worship. The imagination is in no way more forcibly

affected than by such visible representations of the object addressed : and as statuary is upon the whole a much more striking representation of nature, than a flat surface however artfully coloured, statuary is preferred to painting.

“ As to the existence of an order of men, denominated priests or clergy, their use is limited to that of preaching and lecturing. Their proper province is to instruct their countrymen in the truths of piety and virtue. For this end they are subjected to particular discipline ; their subsistence is provided for, independently of their own labour and attention ; times and places are allotted for publicly delivering their instructions, and the persons, who composed their school, are bound by certain laws and penalties, to attend. The two departments of teaching and worshipping are carefully separated, and are performed in different halls and on different occasions ; though the preacher is invested with a certain superintendence and direction over worship.

“ Such are the outlines of the system of opinions respecting religious worship, adopted by the more enlightened among the Carce. How far these notions are diffused among the vulgar, is another question : how far they are influenced, by the belief of express command, issued by God, and enforced by the penalty of eternal perdition hereafter, to the observance of these modes of worship : how far they consider the day, the temple and the statue as possessing the actual and exclusive presence of their deity ; what notions they entertain of the nature, character and habits of their gods are different subjects of inquiry.

“ The Carce, in general, believe that no other times or places of worship than these in use would be acceptable ; that painting in these churches would be impious and idolatrous ; that Heaven would be deeply offended by omitting or removing the statue which they consider as the exact resemblance of the person whose name it bears, which in many cases, they believe to have been miraculously formed, and the possession of which they regard as indispensable to the success of their prayers : that the clergy have an indelible and sacred character, and and enjoy their privileges and authority by the express command

direction of Heaven, delivered through the mouth of his messenger Timotheus ; that the observance of the rites and precepts delivered in their sacred book, and interpreted by their divines, will be rewarded by eternal being and beatitude. Such is the creed of those who do not reason, and of most of those who do, because in these points they are governed by habit and example, or because the facts and arguments, by which they are supported, are sufficient to convince them.

The Carce temple exhibits an altar or pedestal, on which a statue large as life, in white marble, is erected. This statue placed in the most honourable situation, is that of the saint or divinity to whom the church is dedicated. Timon, Vesta and her ten daughters, the first Charles, and the nine bishops, immediate successors of Timon in that sacred office, are the only names in which the churches of the island are consecrated. The canonized or deified bishops are Cæcilius, Sophron, Cecilius Secundus, Felix, Clemens, Cecilius Tertius, Clemens Secundus, Cecilius Quartus, Felix Secundus. These nine prelates lived from A. D. 91, till 391, a period of three centuries.

“ The oldest statue of Vesta was, it is not impossible, a statue of the pagan divinity that bears the same name. This, with ten others preserved in different temples, and which pass for the statues of her daughters, have occupied their present station, since the year 700. Though history be silent, legend and tradition are very circumstantial in their account of these statues. They were formed, it seems, by a miraculous influence, after the decease of the originals. In the convent which they founded, the mother survived ten daughters, and saw the extremity of old age without decay or infirmity. On her death bed, in order to console the sisterhood, she told them that, though withdrawn by the decrees of Heaven, from mortal to immortal existence, she intended to intercede with God for the privilege of returning to them, in the course of a few circling years. Should she succeed in her prayers, she would gladly assume her own shape, and continue to direct their acceptable devotions as formerly. If a different decree, however, should be made, she would send them in token of her affec-

tionate regard for them, the images of herself and her daughters in a form which, if secured from violence, would be immortal. To these images they should pay homage as to her, for though, unseen by mortal eyes, a portion of her spirit would latently animate the figure, and its presence should secure to them perpetual protection and felicity.

“Several years elapsed before the fulfilment of this prophecy. At length going in full procession to her chapel, at midnight the commencement of her annual festival, eleven images in marble of divine beauty, were found arranged on the same number of pedestals. The sacred apartment was illuminated by a lamp of silver, suspended from the roof, and fed with ambrosial oil. The statues, the lamp, and the light, being transported hither by means inconceivable and preternatural.

“Such is the tale solemnly related by the abbess, who presided at the time, and which has been faithfully delivered down to the present age.

“The place, selected by Vesta as her retreat, was a rock on the borders of the Meri lake. It rose to a considerable height and jutted out, like a promontory, into the lake. On the flat top of this rock, a space of several acres, she erected a spacious and solid building, where with her daughters and a few devout companions, she continued for the rest of her days. The solemn beauties of this water and its shores might well have been recommended as a scene of religious meditation. The act by which the lamp was supplied, was inexhaustible, and the light an undying flame, continued to illuminate these sacred walls till the invasion of the Infidels.

“At that period, a dame renowned for her sanctity, presided in this mansion. Though she had reason to tremble for her life, and the lives of her daughters, she experienced no anxiety but to preserve these sacred emblems from profanation. Heaven condescended to relieve her distress, and by a revelation, directed her to carry the lamp and statues into a vault in the building, in which for the first time, they discovered a circular opening, and downward stair case in the rocky pavement. They descended this stair, with their precious charge, and the

opening immediately closed, and all traces of it were thenceforth invisible.

“ While this scene was acting, the enemy approached the walls, finding the gates open they entered in tumultuous crowds. When the house was filled with these unbidden guests, a shake of thunder was heard ; the massy walls and roof fell to the ground, and crushed every person beneath them to death. An heap of ruins continued to attest this miracle till the coming of the Martels, when tradition having faithfully preserved these events, the rubbish was carefully removed ; and lo ! an opening and staircase presented itself. The explorers descended till they reached a cell where they beheld these eleven statues, with the lamp, still lightening the place, in the midst. On being carried up to the surface of the earth, the lamp suddenly went out, and the materials of which it was composed crumbled into dust. The statues were replaced in a chapel erected anew upon the spot, but all of them except that of Vesta, were at different times removed to churches built for their reception.

“ An incredulous antiquary will be apt to consider those statues as no other than the ornaments of some Roman temple or some proconsul’s villa. In their style and execution they are evidently the work of the best age of sculpture. There is a family resemblance between the whole group, but nothing that could lead us to believe them modelled after the same ideal model. The physiognomy is extremely intelligent and pleasing, but perfect symmetry is seen in none of them.

“ Some inquirers have conjectured that they were designed to represent the nine muses, with Mnemosyne their mother. It is remarkable, if either conjecture be true, that the wife and daughters of a Roman senator, should become, for many centuries, the idols of a numerous and enlightened people : or that these tutelary honours should be assigned to the children of some nameless sculptor’s fancy. It is no less remarkable that they should in process of time come to resume the very attributes which the artist had originally assigned to them, since they have been naturally exalted by the poets of the

country into patronesses of the sciences ; to each one a peculiar province in the intellectual kingdom having been allotted.

“ In consequence of these miraculous images being formed of white marble, in the graceful raiment and simplicity of ancient art, the Carce worship has considered this material and this form as essential and peculiar to religious worship. As churches and convents multiplied in the island, copies were made of these originals. These partook of the rudeness and barbarism of the times, nor was it till the Alexandrine period, that the copies began to vie with the originals in elegance and beauty. During this period also, a kind of harmony and sanctity began to be discovered between this and the ancient principles of architecture. Vesta, having by this stupendous miracle, attested the superior sanctity of the ancient mode of sculpture, a kindred sanctity was supposed to appertain to every thing which existed at the same time ; and thus the ancient architecture obtained a sort of religious reverence. To erect temples of the same material as the statue it contained, and to ascribe to them additional sanctity on that account, was the dictate of natural superstition. To these ideas are we indebted for the splendid and eternal monuments of architecture and sculpture produced in the fifteenth century. The island abounded in all kinds of marble, a kind similar in hue and texture to the Parian exists in great quantities : and of this were formed the twelve hundred temples, convents and colleges, with which the island was adorned by the indefatigable zeal of the four Alexanders.

“ It is not surprising that these circumstances should generate a belief that all representations of nature, by the chissel should be confined to religious purposes. In an apartment set apart for devout offices or meditations, all ornaments were deemed profane but such as the chissel produced, and due sanctity could only be conferred on such recesses, by some image of the human form divine. The size of this image was of no indispensable importance. Divine properties were capable of being given to a colossal statue seven feet high or to a face, executed in relief upon a ring ; but they could not be imparted to any thing but the human form, or so much of it

as included the face at least ; to any thing but a solid resemblance of these, or to any such resemblance, but such as was wrought in white marble. To such resemblances formed of other materials, no sanctity could be imparted, but sculpture was considered as sacrilegiously employed in producing the human figure out of any other substance. Hence it was that the pencil and its wonders were rigorously banished from all religious offices or places, and confined entirely to profane or civil uses. The chamber, the parlour and the hall, were the proper spheres of painting, and such sculpture as did not extend to the human figure. The temple or chapel, on the contrary, excluded every colour but white, and every ornament but such as the plastic art produces.

“ Timon and his nine successors have also their original statues ; of whose genuineness there is no doubt, and whose sanctity, though produced by a mortal workman, is attested by many miracles and revelations. From these are the copies taken which are set up in so many churches, chapels and convents.

“ It is not unlawful to copy the human face or form in marble, but by so doing we confer upon them a certain degree of sanctity. As the objects of established worship were formerly mere human beings, there is no essential or specific difference between them and the mortals of the present age. Good men by their death, became associated with Timon, Vesta and Carolus Divus. Their characters and services to mankind entitle them to less reverence ; but some reverence, exactly of the same kind is not denied to them. Private individuals are therefore permitted to evince their regard for the dead, by perpetuating their likeness in marble, but this is a solitary and individual act. No one is entitled to a place in any acknowledged church, to have the day of his death inserted in the calender as a general festival, but such as obtain the suffrages of the whole synod. This is the act of his canonization.

“ As Carsol is placed in the centre of the Roman empire, and in the neighbourhood of Italy ; as the Roman power was fully established in it in the reign of Augustus ; and its tranquility suffered no memorable interruption till the Vandal invasion ;

a period of five hundred years ; it is natural to expect that the island enjoyed all the blessing that peace, commerce, agriculture and civilization can confer, many vestiges of that flourishing period may be expected to remain even to our own times.

“ The most durable monuments of the Romans were buildings, specimens of sculpture, and coins. Palaces, villas, temples, foras, aqueducts, theatres, amphitheatres and forts, no doubt existed in this island, in great numbers. Fire, civil discord, occasional commotions and the influence of time, which are perpetual causes of decay, operated to a certain extent through the whole Roman period ; but as arts and civilization flourished, the destruction flowing from these causes must have been perpetually repaired.

“ The establishment of a new religion and new manners, and the decline of all the arts, operated in a double way. What the former razed to the ground, the latter were unable to rebuild upon a different, but equally substantial and graceful model. The theatres and amphitheatres deserted of their accustomed spectacles, went rapidly to decay, or were gradually demolished by the builders of cottages, fences or stables, in their neighbourhood. Their walls sought the level of the ground, and their foundations gradually disappeared under an accumulated mass of earth. Forest trees took root among their crevices, and the plough traversed their areas.

“ The temples were abhorred by the new religion as the recesses of impiety, and to raze them to the ground was deemed a meritorious act. Some few of them were converted into christian churches ; but in these the decays of nature could not be retarded by art.

“ During the dominion of the Vandals, many bloody intestine revolutions took place, and the general ignorance and barbarism contributed to hasten the extinction of ancient monuments. The arts of building assumed a new form, and the ruins of ancient buildings already cut into shape, afforded materials for new edifices, too conveniently disposed to be overlooked.

“ Five centuries of Saracen empire, and the two first of the Martels afforded continued scope for all the causes of decay. The accumulation of vegetable remains, in one place; the formation of a bog or swamp in another; the slow but sure operation of the plough in a third; the conversion of fallen stones into the foundation or walls of new buildings in a fourth; the rage of political or religious zeal in a fifth, had made immeasurable havock in all the vestiges of former ages.

“ In the sixteenth century, a new spirit arose. Literature had lifted up the veil which had hitherto concealed the transactions of times anterior to the Christian triumph. Mankind became of a sudden ardently inquisitive as to all that had occurred in these ages. Curiosity betook itself to every hint and clue, by which it might hope to penetrate the darkness which infolded the past. They turned their eyes upon the ground. Every artificial mass of earth or stone, was examined, sifted, analyzed. Wells and hollows were carefully explored; rivers and lakes, were dragged with nets and pervaded by divers; the earth itself was removed in places; old pavements or foundations were suspected to lie hid beneath it. The rules of ancient art were employed to guide them in conjecturing the uses; and supplying the vanished parts and members of what was discovered.

“ Thus in the course of half a century did temples, theatres, and palaces ascend as it were from the abyss of oblivion; and shine in all their pristine beauty and proportions in models or in pictures. Statues, mosaics and medals which had rested beneath the sod or furrow, at the bottom of wells or marshes, or rivers, unknown, unsuspected and unvalued for a thousand years, now rose to light and occupied cabinets and niches like those from which they had originally fallen.

“ The number of coins or medals, and engraved stones, formed between the fall of Carthage and the reign of Constantine, recovered during this period and still preserved in the island, exceeds twenty thousand. The statues conjectured to have been formed during the same period, recovered from the bosom of the earth, from subterraneous vaults or funeral

monuments, exceed fifteen hundred. The existence of five hundred temples ; of three Fora ; of five theatres, of two amphitheatres and four aqueducts have been traced in their vestiges. These vestiges are more or less numerous and entire ; in some cases, the plan and elevation of the original buildings have been made out with sufficient accuracy, and the ingenuity and daring fancy of eminent designers have ventured to rebuild upon paper every one of these structures. The pencil and the graver have contributed to adorn and multiply these glorious visions of departed magnificence.

“ The third Alexander formed a society of artists, whose business it was, in the first place, to delineate the remains of architectural antiquity, in their actual state ; and secondly, by the exertion of their own learning and taste, to produce designs of the same buildings in their original condition. These designs having received the sanction of the whole body, formed an architectural library of great extent and magnificence. These designs are accompanied by historical and critical disquisitions on each subject.

“ This plan was afterwards enlarged, and the same system pursued with respect to every architectural monument contained in the island. The whole period was subdivided into the Roman, the Vandal, the Saracen, the Martel and the Alexandrine ages ; a part of a numerous society devoted itself to each of these divisions ; and the produce of their labours remain to this day.

“ The Alexandrine period was wonderfully rich in architectural monuments. The face of the country so far as it consists of buildings was entirely renewed, and almost totally changed. Till the accession of that family, the island was covered with farms, cottages, village and city houses, and palaces, and churches, the greater part of which had been built, during the two preceding centuries. Of all the private houses of townsmen and citizens ; few or none could aspire to an elder date. One hundred and twenty convents had arisen, some of them on old foundations, during the same period. Among a thousand churches, many had been erected during the Saracen reign as mosques, and not one hundred

remained from the preceding times. Even the latter had been repaired and improved till the ancient model had almost entirely disappeared.

“ The mansions of the nobles, of which there were upwards of an hundred, chiefly stood in situations which had been similarly occupied from the oldest times. Some of them were sites of Roman fortresses and still displayed traces of their masonry. A few of them, built by the Vandals, were in a more or less ruinous condition. All the inhabitable ones were erected by the Saracens, but two centuries of decay and renovation had greatly obliterated the features impressed upon them by the Arabs.

“ During much of the fourteenth century, a thousand villages had been fortified by a ditch, a mound and rows of sharp stakes ; ten towns had been surrounded by walls and towers, from six to twelve feet thick, and from twenty to thirty feet in height. Carsol city was encompassed by walls sixteen feet in thickness and sixty feet high, and square towers thirty feet thick and eighty or ninety feet in greatest height.

“ Round, slender and lofty towers, partly for alarm and partly for defence, were scattered over all the hills and along the shore. They were chiefly built of rough stones, artfully adjusted to each other so as to produce a regular exterior and well cemented. They generally preserved the same shape and relative dimensions, but their size was extremely various. Their height was generally from thirty to ninety feet, and their diameter about a fourth part of their height. In the centre of the mass, a vertical opening was made just sufficient to admit a narrow staircase. The top was a plat-form, edged with a parapet, with a room underneath containing small windows.

“ The cement used in these buildings was remarkably tenacious and hard, and bound together all the motley materials into a solid rock. Their regular structure and proportions ; their great solidity and elevation gave these towers an effect uncommonly grand and picturesque. Their whole number exceeded an hundred and eight.

“The original of these towers has afforded abundant employment to the Carsol antiquaries. Almost every theory hitherto adopted, has been entangled with some difficulties. That they were prior to the Martel dynasty is universally known. The style of their architecture is wholly different from that adopted by the Saracens in other structures ; besides there is historical and traditionary testimony that the Arabs found them on their coming. There is no evidence, either from history or analogy that they were erected by the Vandals, and the total absence of all inscriptions seems to deny the claim of the Greeks or Romans.

“The vulgar have a ready way of solving all such difficulties by supposing a miraculous agency. Vesta, to whom almost all public benefits are ascribed, was, according to the popular nation, the builder of these towers. They were all of them erected, in a single night, by the strenuous efforts of some celestial power, whom the prayers of Vesta had persuaded to the undertaking. Her son, who was the second king of the Vandal dynasty, was terribly infested by pirates and freebooters from the neighbouring continent, and applying to the oracular dame for advice in what manner most effectually to guard her shores from the enemy, he³ was told that tomorrow’s sun should shine upon an act of divine succour, extended to him upon this occasion. The next day the astonished eyes of the prince and his subjects beheld innumerable towers, erected without human hands, in every situation favourable for describing an enemy, and diffusing through the island warning of his approach.

“This seems to have been the only purpose of these buildings by whomsoever erected. The greatest distance between any two of them is ten miles ; and modern surveys have demonstrated the curious fact that an observer stationed on the top of any one of them has always one or more of the rest within sight, and that the height of the towers is regulated with a view to this general interchange of signals. By this means intelligence of any event may be communicated to every district of the island with almost the celerity of light.

“ These towers form a very remarkable feature in the Car-sol landscape. There are few conspicuous points from which one or more of them may not be seen. At a small distance all variety of form or colour in the pieces of which they consist is softened into uniformity, and their columnar dignity captivates the eye.

“ The Alexanders began their improvements with taking down the church and convent of Timosa, and building in its stead a fortress worthy to contain these pledges of the general safety. The ancient convent of Vesta was, in like manner, supplanted by a new edifice, more becoming the dignity of its divine protectress. This convent had been gradually enlarged by additional buildings, into a college or seminary, in which all the candidates for the clerical office were obliged to pass through a scholastic probation. No person could discharge any clerical function in this island who had not been a pupil and licentiate of this seminary ; who had not as it were, received his divine commission at the feet of Vesta, whose statue formed the boast and treasure of this institution.

“ These princes successively encompassed their capital, and the ten provincial cities, with walls of massy strength. Car-sol was defended by walls sixteen feet thick, and eighty high with round towers of proportional magnitude. The smaller towns were protected by a mural, twelve feet thick and sixty high. They erected in the towns, palaces for themselves and their provincial deputies. The baronial castles, the habitations of their bailiffs, they replaced by castles in which elegance and dignity of domestic accommodation were united with military strength. Their example was assiduously followed by their nobles, who razed their ancient halls, and employed their masters architects to construct for them residences in the style chosen by him.

“ All the convents over which the crown had exclusive jurisdiction, were entirely rebuilt upon new principles, principally at his own expense. The other convents copied this example, and the lapse of a century entirely changed these features of the island, which consisted in the greater buildings.

“ Alexandra the fourth of this line, succeeded her father in 1597, at the age of sixteen, and died, in 1631, after a prosperous reign of thirty-four years. This princess deserves to be ranked with the most fortunate of mankind, and obtained, even during her life, the memorable and unexampled surname of *Felicissima*.

“ To this title she had a claim founded not only on the personal advantages of beauty and health, but on every intellectual excellence and moral grace. She possessed, not only a strong understanding, capacious and retentive memory; a lively and rich fancy; a fertile and sparkling wit, but an heart and temper attuned to every generous affection, and endowed with inexhaustible gaiety. Her capacity was eminently fitted to her station, and her conduct as a sovereign was full of wisdom and beneficence. Compared with her two illustrious contemporaries the Scottish Mary and the English Elizabeth, we perceive in her all the beauty and accomplishments without the indiscretion or calamity of the first, and all the prudence and felicity, without the feminine foibles, the personal unamiableness of the latter. Every event seemed to conspire to exalt her felicity. The projects of taste, elegance and grandeur of her immediate predecessors were so far matured, at her accession, that she had only to uphold them by her countenance, and passively enjoy the benefits of which they were productive. The national character had been softened and the seeds of political discords and commotions extinguished by the meliorating arts of the three preceding reigns. The counsellors and ministers which her father's wisdom had selected, and whom her natural sagacity, as well as reverence for parental injunctions, prompted her to maintain and cherish, were faithful, patriotic and judicious. The accidental position of the neighbouring nations contributed at once to her personal security, and to her dignity and reputation by the opportunities afforded her of properly and beneficially interfering in their concerns. In short her contemporaries and subjects were so powerfully struck by the felicity of her lot, and by her unsullied and unmixed excellencies, that she came to be regarded as something celestial and divine. The

sentiments with which her subjects were inspired were compounded of loyalty to the queen; gratitude to the benefactor; devotion to the woman; admiration of beauty, and reverence for wisdom. The ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown being fully established by her father, she inherited the prerogatives and attributes formerly belonging to the pope, and these, uniting with a civil authority, nearly absolute, and with the headship at once, of the conventual and military orders of St. Charles, every limit to the obedience or devotion of her subjects was obliterated. Her empire was extended over the heart and the mind. Her acts of government were submitted to, not merely as edicts of a lawful power, but as edicts of unerring and inspired wisdom. The divine authority of the Roman pontiffs, to which even moral principles and obligations were subject, concentrated in her. She became the chief priestess and hallowed organ of Vesta; and her will was the indisputable criterion of right and of truth.

“ It would not be extravagant to say that this princess was worshipped by her subjects. The divine attributes by which she was clothed were not the mere fruits of the adulation of lovers or poets. They were bestowed by the enthusiasm of all classes. Her existence was fondly believed to be only a second visit of the deified Vesta, to her favourite isle; the personal and visible incarnation of the deity of Carsol. The worship hitherto paid to the statue of that deity, was now paid with double zeal because she of whom it was the mute representative was actually among them.

“ The impartial and the sober minded, when they reflected on the merits of Alexandra, the union of so many qualities, seldom concurring or compatible; were inclined to adopt the popular opinion. Her extraordinary felicity was a plain proof that she was under the particular care of Heaven and those who would not acknowledge her identity with Vesta, or her absolute divinity, could not deny that she was of a species more than human.

“ There are many qualities which should seem to manifest somewhat of a divine or celestial nature in an human being, which the perverseness of mankind deem it a crime to pos-

sess, and which they unaccountably consider as conferred not by God, but by the devil. Does a man possess the faculty of diving into futurity ; of perceiving objects at an invisible distance ; of repelling swords and bullets from his naked body, of living beyond the usual period of terrestrial existence ; of converting base matters into gold ? He is stigmatized, abhorred and punished as an agent of the devil and a rebel to God.

“ These prejudices governed the Carce as they govern the rest of mankind, but while they ascribed some of these preternatural qualities to their queen, they excepted her from the common sentence denounced against magic and necromancy. In her, these attributes were allowed to be purely celestial, and to be evidence of her communion and kindred with the divine Vesta.

“ The first Charles acquired after his death the name and the honours annexed to the name of Divus. This title was conferred upon Alexandra during her life, and the devotion she excited was suitable to this title.

“ The uniformity and perfection of her health, and some extraordinary escape in her early youth, amidst the clashing of swords and the whistling of bullets had given birth to the opinion that she was inaccessible to wounds or diseases.

“ Her father, was the most parsimonious of the Alexanders. His passion for gold led him into no acts of meanness or extortion ; but he did, not like his father and grandfather, study to make his expenses keep pace with his receipts. On the contrary, he took pleasure in accumulating, and the great abilities of his financial minister enabled him to indulge this passion without injuring his subjects. For the last eleven years of his life, he annually received from the king of Spain, pistoles and doubloons in gold equal in value to forty thousand crowns. This money was paid in pursuance of a secret stipulation with the court of Madrid, to which the Spanish ambassador and himself only were privy. It was the actual price of this prince’s refusal to accept the sovereignty of Flanders, which the rebellious Flemings had offered him.

“When the successors of the prince of Parma had nearly driven the people of the Netherlands to despair, they offered to transfer their allegiance to the king of Carsol, in return for effectual succour in their contest with Spain. The formidable military and naval power of this island, and the ardent zeal of its natives against the Spaniards, would probably have rendered their interference fatal to the cause of Philip in the Netherlands. Their hostilities would likewise have been particularly dangerous in the Mediterranean. Alexander was by no means indisposed to embrace an offer so flattering to his ambition, and so agreeable to the prejudices of his subjects; nevertheless he declined it, and though the motives publicly assigned for so doing, were built upon a generous regard to the faith of treaties and the happiness of his people, which depended on the continuance of peace, the real motive was the offer of an annual subsidy or pension, which amounted to a larger sum than the possession of the Netherlands afforded him any prospect of obtaining in the shape of clear revenue. Alexander was a subtle politician, and had indirectly prompted the revolted states to make this application, with no view but to extort some advantageous concessions from Spain as the price of his forbearance. This pension, and a solemn renunciation of certain rights in Majorca, was the consequence of this proceeding. No secret was made of the latter, and no small merit was arrogated by the prince in exchanging such splendid prospects for his own family, for additional security and happiness to his present subjects.

“The prince had many motives for concealing these pecuniary arrangements from all other persons. The payments annually made were therefore presented by the Spanish minister himself to the king, without the presence of any one else, and were placed by the latter in a vault, to which he alone had access. When he found his end approaching he called his daughter to his bed side, and presenting her a key, directed her to the depository of this treasure, and exhorted her to observe the same secrecy with regard to it that he had done.

“ Alexander stipulated with the Spaniards that this gold should, previously to being sent to Carsol, be minted into ten crown Carsol-pieces. In this shape they were received from the minister and deposited.

“ The sum, thus transferred to the new queen amounted to 500,000 crowns. Agreeably to her solemn promise to her father she carefully concealed the source of those disbursements which she made from this fund. She was, herself entirely a stranger to the means by which her father had acquired this treasure. The Spanish minister, who had been the medium of these payments, had been superseded by another, who knew nothing of the matter. The records of the treasury and of the mint, contained no traces of it. In her various musings on this subject, she was unable to form any other conjecture with regard to it, than that her father possessed the secret of extracting gold from baser materials. His known attachment to chemical pursuits, tended to confirm her in this opinion.

“ As her friends and ministers were equally ignorant of the source of her supplies, the same opinion gradually prevailed in the island with regard to herself. She, however, spending none of her time in the laboratory, and maintaining no intercourse with alchymists could only be supposed to acquire this gold by supernatural means. It was ranked among the numerous proofs of the favour with which she was regarded by the deity, and her vanity would not allow her to discountenance this inference.

“ A woman, situated like Alexandra, could not fail to be a most eligible matrimonial prize. Innumerable were the wooers who aspired to the honour of her hand. Kings and nobles contended for this prize, with an ardour proportioned to its value. Marriage could scarcely be of more importance to her own happiness than to that of her subjects. An alliance with a foreign potentate, would endanger the independence of the island, since the issue of such a marriage would be likely to unite it forever with his own kingdom. Marriage on the contrary with one of her own subjects could produce no inconvenience but such as might arise from the jealousies and rivalships of candidates.

"The kings of Carsol were regarded by themselves and their subjects as a race exalted above all the families of mankind. As the lineal and indisputed descendants of Charlemagne, they claimed the throne not only of France, but of the western empire. The purity of the race had been remarkably preserved ever since the conquest, by restraining all marriages within the limits of the family. This rule had hitherto experienced no exceptions, and the custom had become a law, fundamental and inviolable.

"Though the rank and power of this princess set her at least upon a level with any European sovereign, this important custom raised an insuperable bar to their pretensions. Among her own subjects any matrimonial alliance was equally impossible but with those descended without mixture from the first Charles. The sanctity and privileges annexed to this consanguinity, whether pure or mixed, were such as to this relationship a matter of solemn record and great notoriety.

"A peculiar fatality had attended the Alexandrine family. Each of the princes had many children. These children were eminent for their personal or mental qualifications. They were altogether worthy of their family. Their lives had extended to the customary period, but the son by which each prince had in his turn been succeeded, was the only one of his children who had married in such a way as to make the crown inheritable by his descendants. They had allied themselves to persons, some one of whose immediate ancestors male or female, was an alien to the Martel family.

"The Carsen whom Alexandra married, was the next in lawful succession. He was gentle, modest, unambitious, and cheerfully submitted to that political inferiority which even after her marriage, the laws imposed upon him.

Rinaldo Martel was the great grandson of the second Alexander, and the grandson of the third Alexander's second brother, and the son of Alexandra's cousin Rinalda Martilla. This Rinaldo was nearly of the same age with the queen and his cousin. After the accession of the queen, her cousin being the only male living legally qualified for marriage with her, was naturally selected by the public wishes for such an alliance.

Alexandra had been brought up with this relation and a female Carcen, descended from the third Alexander's fourth brother. Familiarity had produced between the queen and her cousin an affection void of passion ; but between Rinaldo and his other cousin, the same cause had produced a different consequence. They were married, and their only child, a son Rinaldo, was born in the third year of Alexandra's reign. This boy, being, after the death of his father, which happened at an early age, the heir apparent, was taken by the queen and treated as her child and future representative. At the age of forty-three Alexandra, while her bloom and beauty were still in their prime, married Rinaldo, and one year after had a son, who promised to realize all the beauty and wisdom of his mother. These promises, indeed, were not ultimately fulfilled ; and neither did her husband, who quietly succeeded her, reduce to practice those equitable maxims of government which he embraced with ardour in speculation. The evils which afterwards arose from the indolence and facility of the one, and from the impetuous passions and licentious habits of the other, could not be conjectured or foreseen by Alexandra or her people in her lifetime, so that her prospects of futurity were as brilliant and flattering as her retrospects of the past.

"This princess was contemporary with Henry IV, and Lewis XIII, of France ; with Philip III and IV, of Spain ; with Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, of England. The situation of her kingdom naturally gave birth to many intimate relations with France, Spain and Italy. These relations were for the most part pacific ; since her ministers maintained, in full vigour, the maxims of the Alexandrine princes. In so long a reign, it was scarcely possible to shun all occasions of bickering and dispute with her neighbours : but on all such occasions, she conducted herself with inflexible caution and prudence ; and succeeded in maintaining the peace and neutrality of her kingdom undisturbed. Her constancy, like that of her predecessor was assailed by promises, intreaties, menaces and bribes, but nothing could induce her to depart from her neutral and pacific system : she equally refused to succour rebels against their king, or kings against their rebels ; but willingly

entered into amicable mercantile engagements with any of them.

“The spirit of naval enterprize which appeared in her father’s reign, prevailed very much in this. To search out and settle or conquer new countries in the western hemisphere, was a passion which pervaded many bosoms, but could never get any footing in hers. The example of Spain and Portugal, the riches of their mines or their traffic, formed no inducement to her. In this particular her caution and forbearance were somewhat remarkable ; perhaps she was liable to censure.

“In an early part of her father’s reign, 1576, Serendib had been carefully explored by some Carsol navigators, and a company of merchants and adventurers had obtained the royal sanction and aid to a scheme of settlement and conquest. The scheme was adopted with views and conducted upon principles widely different from those by which any nation had been actuated.

Nicolas Nicolini was a young man who, in a voyage to India in a Portuguese vessel, had been wrecked upon the coast of Serendib. He alone had escaped destruction, and had gained extraordinary favour from the chief who ruled in that part of the country in which he was thrown. Nicolas united a strong and active mind with a generous temper, and his ingenuity had made him so serviceable and venerable in the country, that his influence was unbounded. The prince, his patron, was the most powerful sovereign of the island, and Nicolas, during a residence of ten years, obtained an intimate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. Having an anxious desire to return home, he seized the opportunity afforded by an European vessel which touched at the island for refreshments, to revisit his native country. He obtained permission to do this by promising to return, and to bring with him certain assistants and tools, with the utility of which he made the prince acquainted. On reaching home, he discovered that his parents and immediate kindred were dead, and his return being prompted by affection for them, he easily determined to comply with his engagements. His patrimony

being embezzled in his absence, he was left without the means of accomplishing his voyage. In order to obtain justice, he besought an interview with the minister of justice. This minister was a man of a visionary and enlightened character, and having gained from Nicolas a particular account of his adventures in Serendib, he conceived the design of building a new and grand system of colonization in the particulars which the voyager communicated. The prince warmly adopted his schemes, and their execution commenced by sending back Nicolas with a vessel fully provided with every thing which the state of the island made particularly useful. Natives of Carsol particularly qualified and instructed, were, from time to time, sent out to Serendib and put under the particular direction and controul of Nicolini. By a wary and benevolent system of proceeding, this adventurer established in a period of forty years, his authority throughout the isle, and many essential improvements were made in the condition of the islanders. From that period the population and prosperity of the country have been continually dvancing, and at the close of the eighteenth century its inhabitants have arisen to the number of one hundred millions.

“ Alexandra the lawful sovereign of these adventurers, was by no means friendly to their schemes. Considerable emigrations were projected to this island, but she prohibited them. By this rigour she prevented Nicolina from being made a theatre of cruelty and suffering similar to Peru and Mexico. She embraced the councils of the first discoverer, and compelled her ministers to confine themselves to sending out from time to time persons qualified in the manner prescribed by Nicolas.

“ With regard to this island, the popular opinions and wishes regarded nothing but the pecuniary profit to which the possessor might be made subservient, and the conversion of the natives to the true faith. By reducing the natives to slavery ; by compelling them to till the ground, and excavate mines for the benefit of the people and government of Carce ; they expected to fulfil all the ends of the wisest policy. To take formal possession of the country ; to secure this possession by a military force : to allot

the land and people, in absolute property, to certain persons, who should buy the privilege, and who should employ the labour of the natives, either in digging mines, of which the sovereign should reserve a certain portion for his own use, or in raising products, of which there was great and incessant demand in Europe, was the scheme familiar to the practice of European nations at that period. The importation and distribution of these products being confined to natives of Carce, for ever, to the agents whom the sovereign should select and commission, the wealth that would thence arise would benefit Carsol in the same manner in which Venice and Portugal had been benefitted by their foreign acquisitions and monopolies.

“ From the first discovery of Serendib to the accession of the queen, there elapsed about sixty years. During this period the plans of the first discoverer and his son, who successively obtained absolute grants of the island, were sedulously and successfully pursued, in consequence of which the real population of the island and its real felicity and opulence had greatly increased. To promote these ends, agreeably to the means prescribed by Nicolas, the princes had hitherto allotted some portion of their time, attention and revenues. They received no pecuniary recompense from all these efforts, nor did they aim at any,

Calosa became minister of revenue in the first year of Alexander the Third. He was a man of great integrity and parsimony, and under his care, seconded by a some what similar disposition in his master, the royal income was much increased. Whatever augmentation might be made, by order and frugality in proportioning the public burthens, and in collecting and disbursing them, his temper led him to make. His attention was early turned to Serendib, and his mind was quickly impressed with the vast advantages that might arise from a system of colonial management, widely different from that which he found adopted.

He found that fertile Island, with eight millions of inhabitants reduced to absolute submission under a subject of Carsol, who held his power by virtue of a patent from his sovereign. This

delegate had pursued a scheme of government, by which, indeed, the numbers of his subjects were augmented, and their social condition was greatly improved, but in which the usual ends of colonial establishments, were entirely neglected. These ends were additional riches and power to the parent state, by taxes levied directly on the persons and industry of the planters or cultivators; or by the exclusive enjoyment of their trade. Instead of labouring after these advantages, the system hitherto pursued had no direct tendency to enrich even the colonists themselves, and the parent state was in reality subjected to a constant and unrequited expense both of men and money. The great objects of Nicolas appeared to be no more than to increase the quantity of cultivated ground; to multiply the number of the cultivators; to secure to them the fruits of their industry and ingenuity; to create new motives to labour and invention; to bind every part of his empire in the bonds of harmony and peace; and to compel the observance of these maxims among the delegates of his authority. He sought to establish an internal and independant power in the Island, and gradually to dissolve all connection with Europe. To these singular maxims he had gained the approbation and concurrence of the two first Alexanders, and by marvellous constancy and energy had even in his own life time, accomplished the most extensive revolutions. Just before the death of the second Alexander he died, after obtaining the renewal of his charter in favour of his son.

Alexander the Third lent a favourable ear to the memorials of his minister, who advised him to anul the charter given to the younger Nicolas; to appoint governors and officers who should be animated with more simple and wordly views, and who should hold their power from himself and at his own pleasure: to levy taxes on the people: to open mines and establish trading companies, from the profit of whose dealings some advantage might accrue to his own purse. These councils sufficiently agreeable to the prince's inclinations, he was prevented from adopting, first by a regard to the obligations of his own charter, and secondly, by an apprehension of the power and resources of his present delegate. As Nicolas' commission would expire

with his life, he thought it most prudent to wait for that natural termination, and meanwhile to prevent Nicolas from taking any measures to effect the future independence of his colony, to conceal carefully his own views, and affect entire satisfaction in the methods already settled.

“ One of the earliest affairs which came under consideration with the new queen, was the mode to be pursued with regard to Serendib. Her treasury continued, during her life, under the care of Calosa, and this minister renewed his applications to her, on that subject, with a confidence inspired by her youth and inexperience. She would probably have ultimately embraced his views, enforced as they were by a good deal of misrepresentation, had not Nicolas himself revisited his country at this period. He had been apprized of the machinations of his enemies, and, in the accession of a new queen, resolved to counteract these plans in person : notwithstanding all the efforts of those whose interest or policy demanded his destruction, he obtained the confidence and approbation of the youthful queen ; and returned to Serendib with the strongest assurances of her favour.

“ The heart of Alexandra was the seat of divine philanthropy. If she failed to benefit her subjects in the degree to which her *power* was equal, this must be ascribed to defect of knowledge and not of inclination. With regard to Serendib her wisdom very far exceeded the wisdom of the age in which she lived ; but for this she was indebted to the instructions of Nicolas ; the benevolence and justice of whose plans, her heart and understanding cordially approved. Her perceptions and resolutions on this head were too strong to be shaken by the remonstrances and artifices of her counsellors. Whatever measures Nicolas dictated for extinguishing the claims and preventing the interference of her successors, she cheerfully adopted.

“ Her immediate successors, her husband and son, were animated by views very different from her's. Though of tempers not ungenerous, or mercenary, their ministers and minions persuaded them to believe that their claims as sove-

reigns of Serendib were founded in justice and religion. The younger Nicolas died, after naming his successors, agreeably to the warrant of his charter. He formed a sovereign council or senate of twenty-five, to be renewed by their own election, and devolved upon this council the absolute power which he had exercised. This senate though carefully modelled, by no means possessed the energy and wisdom of the two first governors. They made a strenuous, but unsuccessful opposition to the claims of the parent state.

“ Nicolas Minermi had only one son. All the care and attention bestowed upon this son, were insufficient to make him worthy of his father. Though upright and innocent, he was destitute of vigilance, activity and energy. His slender talents were unaccompanied by insolence or presumption, and he readily acquiesced in the arrangements made by his father for securing the prosperity of Serendib. Shortly before his father's decease, and at his request, he returned to Carsol where he passed the rest of his life in peace and retirement.

“ The period succeeding the death of Alexandra, occupied by the reigns of her husband, her son, and by the minority of her granddaughter, a period of fifty years, exhibited a scene of ruin and decay, both in Carsol and Serendib. The latter country was desolated by a tedious civil war of twenty years, in which the population and treasures of Carsol were irreparably wasted. The tyranny and misgovernment which succeeded the final conquest of the island, contributed still further to its decline; and the wealth and luxury which accrued to the parent state was transitory and pernicious.

“ The military and religious order of Nica, founded by the first Alexander, in 1522, for the sole purpose of defending their native islands from invaders had flourished, in great splendour, during the sixteenth century. Their primitive institutions were from those times improved and enlarged, and under the reign of Alexandra they attained to their highest vigour and perfection. The members of this order exceeded thirty thousand. Their existence and celebrity had alone ac-

complished the purpose of their institution, by intimidating every enemy.

“The prince of Carce as the head of the order, had hitherto received the education peculiar to it, and was in many respects subjected to its rules and discipline. When the crown came into possession of a female, some of the rules of the order with respect to the head of it, were necessarily relaxed, since a female was disqualified by her sex from some of its duties. Alexandra was extremely ambitious of performing all the duties of a chief of the Nica, and though her sex was an insuperable impediment to her zeal, she did not allow it to form an excuse for indolence or inattention or indulgence. She was even supposed to have gone beyond the limits rigidly prescribed by her sex, in her efforts to perform all the duties of her station. In these departments of that office, which were impossible to be performed in person, she was obliged to act by deputy. This deputy was, in some respects, a lieutenant or substitute; and after her zeal in this respect was somewhat cooled by age, and by domestic pleasures, this deputy became more powerful and independent. The profound peace of the country, the luxurious taste of the queen and her court, insensibly weakened the springs of this machine. The separation between the throne and the headship of the order, was completed in the reign of her successor, whose voluptuous and studious indolence made him averse to the active service of this order.

“This order was naturally employed to re-establish the Car-sol power in Serendib. The waste produced by war and climate, required recruits to be procured with unusual rapidity. Hence those qualifications in a candidate, formerly insisted on, were dispensed with, and the primitive vigour and spirit of the institution, almost entirely vanished. The knowledge, temperance and physical constitution, were found in some degree incompatible with the exigences of actual military service. The degeneracy of half a century, however, the total change of climate and situation, were not sufficient totally to obliterate the strong impressions made by the institutions of

the first founder. Courage, or an indifference to life and subordination were principles which survived the fall of almost all others.

“ When Serendib first became the theatre of commotion and war, it had been in the quiet possession of the Carce, an hundred years, and maintained a population of thirty millions. The policy of the first Nicolas enjoined upon every emigrant of Carsol, whom he allowed to enter the island, to marry a native of the country and in some respects, to conform to their language and manners. All political authority he had limited to the male descendants of such marriage. He had thus created a sort of ambiguous nation, named Nicolini, whose separation from their ancient country was as imperfect as their connection with their new. This cast exceeded half a million of persons, and were all bound together by the strictest laws of political obedience, and to their vassals by the ties of kindred and similitude of interests and manners. To this cast, the offices of government and the use of arms were confined.

“ The final triumph of the Nica over this populous empire must be ascribed to the union, hardihood and military skill of this order. Their triumph was indeed delayed for thirty years, and every year during that period, detachments arrived from Europe, amounting annually to five thousand men. The adverse armies were likewise recruited from the class of natives, and dexterous politicians had contrived to make the natives themselves instrumental to their own subjection. At the conclusion of this war, it was satisfactorily computed that 1000 natives of Carsol had fallen by the sword alone ; half a million of Nicolini, who were almost entirely extirpated, and five millions of natives engaged on one side or the other. The general ruin may be estimated when we mention that in 1625, the population was reduced to ten millions, or one third of the number living at the commencement of these troubles.

“ Alexander Minermi was the son of the third Nicolas Minermi, and born, at his father’s castle in Carsol, in 1640.

He was educated with great care, under his father's roof, who died in 1657, when his son was seventeen years of age. This event made the son master of his conduct. Shortly after he left the island, and spent fifteen years abroad. During this period, he visited every part of Europe, and spent four years in Niclan. This part of his life was a busy and eventful scene, in which his fortitude, and talents were tried by numberless incidents.

"Of the system of his great ancestor, the founder of the Niclan empire, he became a passionate admirer, and longed for an opportunity of restoring a country, which he considered as his proper inheritance, to its pristine glory. With a view of procuring some official station in the island, by which he might be enabled to accomplish his arduous purposes, he returned reluctantly to Carsol, at the age of thirty-five. At this time, the kingdom was exposed to many evils, in consequence of the turbulence and tyranny of the primate who had been appointed by the late prince the guardian of his daughter. Her majority was fixed at the age of eighteen. She was now only thirteen years of age. When her majority was completed, she married Alexander Minermi Martelo, who became thenceforth absolute master of the Carsol territories, foreign and domestic, and who revived with new lustre the Alexandrine age.

"The life of this prince was spent in repairing the evils which had multiplied under the two last reigns, both in Carsol and Niclan, and in perfecting institutions to which every former age had been a stranger. Every obstacle to the prosperity of the colonies and mother country were removed, and the same maxims being adopted by his successor, the dominions of Carsol rapidly advanced to an height of riches, power and felicity, which made them the wonder of mankind.

"In 1737, John Gustor, the last of the Medicean princes of Tuscany, died without heirs. By testament he left his dominions to the prince of Carsol, and in this bequest the neighbouring powers after some negotiation and demur, were oblig-

ed to acquiesce. His great reputation for wisdom and energy ; the zealous wishes of the Tuscans ; the inclinations of the reigning prince, who, during his life, delivered his fortresses to the Carce, and thereby greatly facilitated the execution of his will, induced the neighbouring potentates to submit to this arrangement. Tuscany and the two isles were united under one head, and the labour of seventy years was directed to cement their union ; to reduce to the same model, the manners and institutions of all the parts of his extensive empire."

The remarks with which I prefaced the "Sketches of a History of Carsol," will apply to the next selection made and printed for this volume, which I shall call "Sketches of the History of the Carrils and Ormes."

In this work Mr. Brown has indulged his passion for architectural study. How, or when first he imbibed his ardent love for architecture I never knew. He would sit for a whole day with his compasses and pencil absorbed in planning a mansion, a castle or a cathedral ; or in examining the proportions of some celebrated building of remote ages.

The "Sketches of a History of Carsol," and the "Sketches of the History of the Carrils and Ormes" must be considered as parts of plans of extensive works of imagination in which historical facts are mingled and the air of history imitated. Parts of these plans are necessarily more finished than others, and the author doubtless intended to have seen his plans complete before he began the task of filling up all the parts and putting the last hand to his work. It will be seen that an Utopian system of manners and government was to complete the whole.

In his earlier works he did not proceed in this systematic manner. He began to write a novel after having only determined upon one leading circumstance, character or idea, and trusted to the growth of one incident from another, and the appropriate sentiments from the incidents. One volume would be finished and printed before he had formed any plan for the beginning of the second, or any plan for the continuation, development or denouement of the story.

The first novel he wrote was entitled "Sky Walk." It was never published, owing to the death of the printer, who had undertaken to publish it at his own risk. Mr. Brown being then altogether unknown to the public, and the work, nearly printed being left with executors, who did not choose to finish it and would not or could not sell the sheets for such price, as Mr. Brown's friends thought proper to offer for them. After Charles had made New York his place of residence, he incorporated parts of "Sky Walk" into other works of imagination, as his memory retained them. In Edgar Huntley, for example, the wild district of Norwalk, had its prototype in Sky-Walk.

It is very evident that this unsystematic mode of composition must give a motley appearance to works so written. The parts must occasionally be disproportioned to each other, and incidents imagined which excite great expectations in the reader, and involve the story in mystery, which the author trusting to after thought for the explanation or the sequel, and not finding, when the printer called for the remaining *copy*, any adequate solution of difficulty or termination of adventure, the event either does not answer the expectation raised, or the reader is put off with the intimation of a continuation at a future time.

Wieland, the first novel which Mr. Brown published, and which I shall hereafter speak of more at large, has a more complete developement of plot than the others; but even in Wieland an opening is left to pursue his subject still further, as his future leisure or inclination might dictate.

It may be said that all the works of imagination which Mr. Brown has given to the public remain in this unfinished state. Though the curiosity which is excited is not fully gratified, yet they one and all speak in a language more forcible than panegyric can convey, the varied talents of the author. It has been truly observed of him, that "whether he lets himself loose in the region of argumentative speculation, or ranges the field of fancy, he is in either case perfectly at home."

The writer from whom the above quotation is borrowed when speaking of Mr. Brown's novels has the following passages. "The reader accompanies him step by step throughout the whole labyrinth of his mysteries, with an expectation of finding them eventually cleared up. As he proceeds, however, his attention is arrested by still further novelties, which are brought forward to explain the preceding, and which themselves require the same explanation. At the end he closes the volume with a mind still unsatisfied. The author was often asked by his friends, when he proposed to elucidate the mysteries with which his works of fancy abounded, to which he would give some sportive reply, plainly intimating that he considered it a matter of perfect indifference whether this task was ever accomplished or not. He seemed to consider the curiosity of his readers as an engine in his hands, which he might play upon for his amusement merely, and relinquish when he was tired of such sport.

From this cause, all his works of a fanciful character present to the eye this chequered and motley appearance. One mystery gives hint to another, and the reader is finally left in the lurch wondering how the last was intended to have been elucidated. He must not be surprised, therefore, if in the unfinished works of the author, he finds them bearing the same cast of character with the productions which he gave to the world. It is equally obvious that an attempt to explain what the author had particularly in view in these unfinished manuscripts, must always remain a mystery, since it is impossible to trace out what his intentions were beyond what is now left us. Indeed this perpetual intrusion of novelty to explain a novelty, has been one of the principal objections to the writings of this author, where fancy has been consulted. The reader becomes fatigued with so fruitless a chase, and somewhat resembles the Trojan Hero attempting to embrace the shade of his father,

"Ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum ;
Ter frustra comprensa manu effugit imago
Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somo."

The author considered all his fanciful works as mere matters of recreation and amusement. As long as his imagination was prolific in blossoms, he scattered them with the same prodigal profusion. When this light employment was accomplished, he patiently waited for the seasons of blooms to return without endeavouring to arrange those which he had already collected into a beautiful bouquet. Such were the precise ideas which this author formed of his works of this character. He declared to a friend who visited him, and took down one of the volumes to peruse, that he might save himself such a needless expenditure of time and trouble, and take the word of the author that the work was not worth a perusal. If he had thought more seriously on such subjects, and taken time to weave the various threads of the narrative into one consistent web, no question can remain of his capacity to excel in this department of letters. His novels are therefore evidences of what he *might* have done, not of what he has accomplished. It was the excess of his genius that prevented him from excelling. He loads his heroes with incredible and mysterious adventures, trusting to the fruitfulness of his own fancy to find the means of extrication. When he is sensible himself that this incident is insufficient for such purposes, he pours forth so much energy of pathos that the reader in spite of his better judgment yields to momentary conviction. Before his effervescence cools, and before the reader can look about him, he finds himself on the brink of another catastrophe."

Before writing the 'Sketches of a History of Carsol,' and 'Sketches of a History of the Carrils and Ormes,' Mr. Brown had seen the inconveniences and mischief arising from his first mode, and I doubt not but he would have given in these works, if he had lived to finish and fill up his plans, volumes which would have delighted, instructed and satisfied the reader.

SKETCHES

OF A HISTORY OF THE CARRILS AND ORMES.

“ St. Arthur Carril was buried, 1711, in the abbey of St. Elmer, in pursuance of his own solemn request. The monks of Canterbury were extremely loath to give up the honour and advantage of possessing his tomb. They even for a short time, entertained the resolution of burying him in their church, but having assembled to fix upon the time and manner of his interment, he is said to have suddenly appeared among them, and repeated the injunctions he had given them while living. They no longer hesitated to obey. An instrument, averring this preternatural appearance, and signed by all the members of the convent who were present, is still preserved in the treasury at Belminster.

“ His body, after being skilfully embalmed, was transported in solemn and magnificent procession to Belminster. A chapel, shortly after was built for it, adjoining the principal church, and it was there buried. The honours of this new Saint, speedily eclipsed those of Arthur the king. The fame and worship of the ancient Arthur, had never travelled much further than the bounds of his own diocese, but the renown of the new divinity spread not only throughout England, but throughout all Christendom. Pilgrims visited his shrine from the remotest countries, and no divine personage attested his influence in Heaven, by more numerous and signal miracles. The sacred college, seemed indeed to exhaust their ingenuity in devising honours for this saint. The diocese of Carthew, was exempted from the jurisdiction of the English primate, which had never before been legally abolished. The election of the bishop was vested absolutely in the convent, exempt from the controul, both of the earl and pope. Their election, according to a form pre-

scribed to them, was to supercede all application to the pope, and was to be in all respects absolute and final, and acquitted of all payments and dues to a superior power, as much as the pope himself when chosen by the cardinals ; provided only that the choice was to be limited to the descendants of the martyr, who should be in orders, and of the canonical age. The bishop was invested with all the spiritual prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs, within his diocese, and was in all respects whatever to stand in relation to the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese, in place of the pope himself.

“ A jubilee was at the same time ordained to take place every fifty years, at Carthew, to open on the eve of the anniversary of the Saint’s death, that is to say, on the thirtieth of December, and to continue three months. All pilgrims, who, during this period, visited the tomb of the Saint, and standing before it with clasped hands, and uplifted eyes, chaunted the words of Simeon, “ Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, &c.” These words were adopted because, according to the legend, when the deified bishop was about ten years old, he accompanied his mother on a festival to the shrine of St. Arthur, and the abbot, coming from the altar after divine service, was struck with the appearance of the child, whom, though he was his nephew, he had now seen for the first time, and taking him in his arms, repeated the saying of Simeon. After this, the pilgrim was bound to go round the nine elder churches of Carthew, and repeat the same words, at the altar in each church, dedicated to the new Saint. At each altar, he received from the attendant minister, a small card, to serve as a certificate of his having performed this ceremony. With these he was, on the ensuing day, to return to the great church, and again to perform the ceremony already mentioned. He was then entitled to receive a copper medal or token, for which he made a donation to the chest of Saxon or Norman money of the times. This was a silver coin, weighing one twentieth of an ounce, or equal in weight to a fourth of a modern shilling. The token was originally gratuitous, but the pilgrims generosity always gave something in exchange, till at length custom made this sum

obligatory upon all, though the pilgrim might, if he pleased, and generally did, give more.

“St. Arthur’s jubilee was celebrated in the following years in regular succession, 1226, 1276, 1326, 1376, 1426, 1476, 1526. At all these times there was a great concourse of pilgrims, not only from all parts of England, but of Christendom. The number varied according to the circumstances of the times, but the lowest number exceeded thirty thousand, while the highest number rose as high as 73,000. The greatest number of pilgrims, is said to have occurred in the jubilee of 1426, when Henry Fifth, was crowned at Paris, and returning to England, visited this shrine, at the head of all his nobles. St. Arthur, was the king’s favourite patron, to whom he believed himself indebted for his recent successes. He had visited this shrine, previous to his expedition, and vowed to signalize his gratitude, should he meet with success, by the most splendid donations. He now performed his vow, by confirming and enlarging the privileges of the see, by granting to the convent the town and lordship of Montaubin, in Guyenne, a district about equal in extent to the lordship of Carthew, which belonged to the bishop. The Guyenne estate was to be the peculiar property of the convent, represented in most cases by the prior. King Henry procured a confirmation of this grant, from the supreme pontiff, by whom Montaubin was dedicated to St. Arthur, and made a separate sovereignty vested in the prior of Carthew, and his successors jointly with the convent. The estate consisted of a town of a thousand houses, and a district of 123 square miles. The cathedral was rebuilt, and dedicated 1430, anew to St. Arthur. The ecclesiastical dignities including the bishop, whose diocese extended over the modern department of Aveyron, and was consequently about equal to the English counties of Kent or Suffolk, was filled with such as had been members of the English convent. The possession continued in this house till the English dominion in this quarter was entirely subverted. None of these changes were acceptable to the people of the lordship, and all traces of them were industriously obliterated after the expulsion of the English.

In the year 1421, the number of pilgrims from Bevernshire alone, was about 18,000, from the rest of England about 30,000, and from foreign countries, about 5000, amounting in the whole, to 53,000 persons. The pecuniary donations amounted to thirty-five thousand pounds, a sum whose actual value in those days, was immense.

It gradually became a custom, obligatory on all the inhabitants of Bevernshire, to visit Beverly at the annual festival of St. Arthur, and perform their donations at the shrine of the new Saint. This was at first only a meritorious pilgrimage, the omission of which was culpable by no law, but it finally degenerated into a sort of obligation, without performing which the people incurred ecclesiastical censures. The evidence of their performance, was a copper token, for which they paid a penny, or as much more as they thought proper. As many through poverty, infirmity, sickness or age, were unable to perform this duty, the custom arose of granting a dispensation to such, the token being sold to them at their own homes, or at their parish churches, and all the virtue of the pilgrimage, came at length to be considered as centering in the purchase of the token. The benefits resulting from the possession of this token were supposed to redound to persons of all ages, consequently an annual token was purchased for each one of every family. The payment thus made, obtained the name of Kerreck's pence or Kerry pence.

The price of these tokens, as already mentioned, was a penny, which in the thirteenth century was a silver coin, weighing the thirteenth of an ounce. The present value of the same portion of silver is nominally equal to fourpence, but its actual value, anciently was ten or fifteen times as much. The Bevergate, therefore, as it was called, must have produced a considerable revenue to the church. The lapse of time, by which it made this payment universal and obligatory, lessened at the same time the value of the penny, which continued to be the established price of this commodity, and the penny that still continues to be paid, amounts only to 2000 pounds a year, among five hundred thousand persons.

At the reformation, the spiritual rewards of this pilgrimage ceased to be valued by the people of Devon; tokens were no longer distributed among them, but the payment of the annual penny assumed in Athelney, in time, the form of tax or a due payable by every one abiding in the country. The lightness of this tax, reconciled the people to the payment, and several indirect advantages arose from the continuance of the practice. The chief of these was the exact knowledge it afforded of the population of the country. It answered the purpose of an annual and exact enumeration.

This payment continued near six centuries. For a long time, upwards of a century, all these payments were made at the cathedral. Afterwards what was paid at home became the perquisite of the parish priest. Finally, when the payments ceased at the cathedral, which happened in the sixteenth century, a question arose, to whom Arthur's pence belonged. This question produced much debate, between the parochial priesthood and the convent, but was after many synods and consistories, given to the convent. By them it was vested in the lord in consideration of a fixed annuity of five hundred pounds, the annual average amount of this payment at that time; since when it has been collected by the testates, and paid into the treasury. The management of it is assigned to a particular office and officer under the pretestate called the Kerry-pencer. This office as already hinted, is now become, in effect, an office for numbering the people, and all the details belonging to this enumeration is his province. The law was abolished by the present earl.

This contribution was, anciently, a source of immense income. This income was always understood to be sacred to patriotic and pious purposes. It being under the controul of the chapter, it was liable to be diverted to the private purposes of the members, but this was always deemed an abuse, and an upright spirit, together with the fear of shame, sometimes secured the just application of it. The first object to which it was properly applied, was the repairing and improving of the temple itself. Accordingly they were able to execute, in the course of the thirteenth century, the gigantic design originally sketched by the Saint himself, and which renders the church at

Carthew, one of the gretest and most magnificent edifices in Christendom. The elaborate and minute sculptures with which the walls are entirely covered, and the exquisite paintings in the windows, are the product of immense labour, and of costly ingenuity, for which however there was no deficiency of funds, till the era of reformation. Indeed this liberal source of income enabled them, in the fifteenth century to rebuild, in their present magnificent style, all the sixteen churches of Beverly.

The scite of the town of Beverly, consisting of nine hundred acres, was granted to his wife Ulpha, for an abbey and garden, by king Edwin, as early as the year 630. It has continued the property of the convent ever since. As a new demand arose for houses, the brotherhood erected them, together with churches for the accommodation of their tenants ; all, however, together with the college, belonged to them as parts of one guild, or corporation. In the year 1545, they transferred to the bishop, all civil and criminal jurisdiction within their precincts, together with the uses. The Jurates therefore are appointed by the bishop, but the testates and curates by the chapter.

The renown of St. Arthur, drew more permanent inhabitants together, and the great opulence of this community enabled them to afford good accommodation to settlers, and Carthew was famous for being the most splendid city in England, as early as the thirteenth century. Its college became a celebrated seat of learning, and the resort of many students from all parts. In the age of Henry VII, it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants, 2400 houses, twenty churches, or more properly conventual cells, a college, the largest cathedral in England, and many other public buildings. Since that time, it has greatly improved in the quality, though not much in the number of inhabitants, and its private buildings. The cheapness of subsistence, arising from the moderate rents fixed by the church upon the houses, and from the exemption from direct taxation, together with the healthiness and beauty of the situation, and the excellent system of instruction in the schools, makes it the resort of a great number of persons of moderate fortunes. These visitants are subjected to no condition but

good behaviour, and an engagement to pay decent attendance at church, to which the musical performances are to every one a sufficient attraction. Its rental is 100,000*l.* and uses 20,000, at 60*l.* an house.

The city called Carthew, with its two suburbs of earls court, and bishops court, entirely erected in the eighteenth century, is inhabited chiefly by proprietors of the Beveren debt or *Ettricks*; by proprietors in Orme, by the knights who are in the habit of residing half the year in this city, and by strangers from other parts of England, chiefly Devonshire.

Bishops court contains a thousand houses, about eight thousand people, the bishops palace and five churches. Its rental and uses, 60,000*l.* Earls court has a baronial mansion or palace, 500 private dwellings, 4000 people, and three churches, each is a separate community or municipal body. The rental of earls court is 25,000*l.* and the uses 5000*l.**

The other light abbeys of Pamfilly, Norwalt, Keymaydon, Seaton, Rose, Tunstall, Falkland, Willowley, and Ortheestone, have all of them very ancient and considerable towns within their precincts. Their property in all land within these precincts, was originally absolute, but, on various occasions, they lessened their rights by grants and concessions to their tenants. Each of them however, has still the property, upon an average, of 6400 acres, and none of them are without some of the houses in their towns; all civil and criminal and fiscal jurisdiction in the burroughs, is either vested in the burgesses, or in the lord. The average of the towns is 1000 houses, 89,000 inhabitants, 6 churches, and a rental of 25,000*l.* The covenfield itself generally produces a rental of 6400*l.* The whole, therefore, had the original rights of the convent been unimpaired, would have amounted to the enormous income of more than 30,000*l.*

All these convents were founded between the years 644, and 800. Their dwellings and chapels, with many alterations and renovations continue to occupy their original scites. Their landed property has scarcely experienced any change, except by

* All Beverley gives a rental of 175,000*l.* a year, and uses amounting to 35,000*l.*

their own grants, since their foundation. It has been, in all cases, larger than at present, but few or no accessions have been made to it, or exchanges been made. About one half of the landed property was at one time, in the hands of the regular and dignified clergy, but the proportion is now sunk to about one sixth, and to a much smaller proportion of the actual rental.

Ulpha, in laying the foundations of her church, discovered a cavity, dug or hewn in the rock, which contained a square box of silver. On the lid of this box was engraven, in Roman characters, the words *Balteus Arture Carrille primate*. Within this box, was found a chain of silver, about four feet in length, composed of forty-eight small plain links, with an hook at one end, to join the ends when necessary.

Beda relates, that, according to a British chronicle which he had seen, this belt or girdle was originally given, by St. Paul, to a British chieftain, once of Artland, by the name of Arthur, whom he met with at Rome, and made a convert to the christian faith. On the day of Paul's execution, in the year 67, he delivered this girdle to his disciples as a memorial of his friendship, and declared that as long as it was worn, it would insure to him the favour and protection of Heaven. Arthur returned in 70 with this valuable legacy to his own country. His principality or domain of Artland, consisted of the territory since called Athelney Devan, which he and his posterity continued to govern, in subordination to the Roman empire, till the coming of the Saxons. On the return of the first Arthur, a few converts were made to his religion, and he and his successors who all bore the same name, were a kind of royal priests, whose chief town, residence, and sanctuary were fixed upon this hill, and called Caer Arthur, or more briefly Carthew. The chain was faithfully delivered from one to another, and preserved with religious veneration. As Roman arts and manners prevailed, the town of Carthew or Arthropolis increased in size and civilization, and acquired municipal privileges. The first temple that was built in the Roman manner by the Britons, was erected on this hill, and dedicated to Christ, about the beginning of the second century. In a vault of this temple, a smaller cavity was hewn out, and the chain,

enclosed in a silver box, was deposited within it under the special guardianship of the reigning prince and his successors. From age to age, the veneration for this relick encreased. It was invested with many miraculous virtues, and, among other uses assigned to it, was that of conferring the kingly dignity on the princes of the country, by investing them, in this temple at the time of their accession, with this girdle, a ceremony which still continued to be used in the inauguration or installing of the bishops of Carthew, who are deemed the ecclesiastical successors of these princes.

Constantius Chlorus who afterwards became emperor of the West, married in 271, Helena, the daughter of Arthur the tenth prince of Artland. Constantine the Great, was born in the following year, at Carthew. Arthur suffered much from the tyranny of Carausius. His estates were forfeited, and he was obliged to take refuge with his son-in-law in Gaul. By the destruction of Carausius, however, by Constantius, in 296, Arthur the Eleventh, son of the former Arthur, who died in exile, was raised to a greater pitch of prosperity, than any of his predecessors. He was the brother of Helena, who, though repudiated by her husband, was still invested with great dignity and affluence, this divorce being merely dictated by political motives, and having taken place with her own consent. When Constantine became emperor, his uncle was made governor of Maxima, Cesaruncis, and vicar of Britain, an office he enjoyed till his death, in 325. He was succeeded in it by his son Arthur the twelfth. The reigns of these two princes, occupied a period of fifty-eight years, during which this province of the empire enjoyed the blessings of good government with an absolute exemption from foreign and intestine war. Carthew was the vicarial residence, and acquired, from the favour of the governors, considerable splendour and population. The death of the twelfth Arthur in 354, put a period to this glory. He left an infant grand-son, under the guardianship of his mother Helena, and the family thenceforth, were confined to their ancient patrimony of Artland, and experienced much variety of fortune according to the temper and views of the emperors and their deputies.

The Roman authority in Britain was dissolved about the year 400. Thenceforth the petty princes of the country, who were generally descended from the chieftains, whom the Romans found in possession of it, became each of them absolute and independent. Their mutual relations were founded on sympathy of language, religion and manners, and on voluntary facts and treaties. Of these families the most illustrious, and the most pure, and entire in its pedigree, was that of Carthew; but its representatives were for several successive generations, more remarkable for their devout and pacific habits, than for enterprize or ambition. They therefore did not take the lead at any time in the affairs of Britain. About half a century elapsed between the departure of the Romans, and the first alliance between the Britons and Saxons.

For many years the contests between the Saxons and Britons were confined to the Southern districts. It was not till the year 550, a century after their establishment in Kent, that the Saxons obtained a firm footing in the North. Alla taking advantage of the death of the twenty-fifth Arthur, who left only an infant son, and a daughter of mature age behind him, overrun this principality, reduced Carthew after a long siege, and involved the whole nation in destruction. The capture and destruction of Carthew, is said to have taken place in 553. Consequently a period of 486 years elapsed between the accession of the first Arthur, the convent of St. Paul, in 70, and the death of the last prince of this line and name, in 553. The sister of the infant prince, is said to have given up the fortress to the Saxon leader on promise of personal security to herself and brother, but this promise was violated. The young prince, together with all the garrison and inhabitants were slaughtered, and the sister was compelled by menaces of tortures and death to abjure her religion and consent to a marriage with Alla.

From this compulsory alliance, sprung the Saxon princes of Dura and Northumberland; and the claims which are maintained by the present earls palatine of a regular descent from the British princes of this country. Beda professes to have drawn up this part of his prolix annals of Carthew, from certain chronicles compiled by monks of the convent, which the Eleventh Arthur founded here in 296. These manuscripts were preserv-

ed by Tergan, a member of this brotherhood, who, on the invasion of Alla, escaped to the continent, and finally obtained refuge in Rome. He deposited his manuscripts, augmented by some additions of his own, in a library in that city, where they were found about the year 720, and sent to Beda by the pope, in order to assist him in writing his ecclesiastical history. Beda's work, however copious, he represents as merely an abridgement of the still more copious materials supplied him from Rome. They are no longer extant, and probably perished in the burning of the convent, after the siege by Henry the First.

The church at Carthew acquired fame and veneration, by being the repository of St. Paul's belt, and by being the first Christian temple erected in Britain. The materials were taken from a quarry in the hill itself, and were not exposed to ruin from any thing but human force, or the corrosion of the elements. Constantine and Hellena his mother honoured this place of their nativity with particular regard. In the progress of time, the *belt* acquired the reputation of possessing many miraculous virtues, and the reverence paid to the First Arthur soon degenerated into formal worship. He was clothed with the honours of a Saint, and became the tutelary divinity of Artland, as early as the year 350.

It was not till the time of Beda, that the ancient history of Beverley became known to the convent. They were then informed by Tergan's chronicles of the history and merits of the girdle, and that the body of St. Arthur was deposited in the same cavity, though at a greater depth, which contained the silver box. Ulpha, when she first discovered this box and its enclosure, was informed, by the members of a convent in Britaigne, that this was a christian relick, and the object, for causes unknown to them, of the worship of the christian people, who preceded the Saxons in the possession of the country. She therefore replaced it, and ordered that no one should disturb it. Ninety years afterwards, it was again disinterred, as well as the body below it. The reigning pope acknowledged the divinity of Arthur and the sanctity of his girdle. The girdle was exhibited, on solemn days, to a multitude of worshippers, and an altar was built over the grave of Saint Arthur,

who was regarded as the peculiar patron of the church, city, and country around his monument. The eminence on which Ulpha had built her convent, had previously acquired the name of Ulverstone, but the church was denominated, the Beltminster or Belminster, the town Belterly or Beverly, and the county Beltern or Berven. The two sister Saints Ulpha and Ermenilda were deemed second to him, though equal to each other, and occupied the second rank in his temple. When the merits of Saint Arthur Carril began to acquire distinction, those of the ancient Arthur became almost obsolete. The chapter of Canterbury solemnly testified that the likeness of their martyred pastor appeared to them, and said, remove my body to Belminster, for there my spirit delighteth to dwell; bury it in the grave of St. Arthur, for he and I are the same. From this mysterious declaration, they inferred that the soul of the ancient Arthur, had actually and literally animated the body of the bishop, and this inference was fully recognized and sanctioned by the bull of the Roman pontiff. Hence both personages were identified by the imagination of their worshippers: the same altar and shrine served for both, and the honours paid to the second, were merely the continuance or revival of those due to the first Arthur.

From Beda's description of the temple erected by the Arthurs it appears to have been an edifice of great solidity and magnitude. The terms he uses are such as could only be borrowed from an earlier writer, and from one conversant with the ideas of Roman architects. The first building was begun about the year 100. Two hundred and twenty years afterwards a new one was constructed by the eleventh Arthur, aided by the council and munificence of the Great Constantine. The second temple is described as consisting of an oblong square, sixty-four feet wide within the interior colonades, and three hundred and sixty-four feet in the whole length. Within were two rows of columns, which by the description given of the capitals appear to have been of the Corinthian order. They were entire pieces from the quarry, and were forty-eight feet high. Above the entablature were walls, with oblong windows, a timber roof flat within, and angular and covered with lead without. The east end was semicircular, and was raised

several steps above the common floor. Here was the grand altar which was raised upon the grave of Arthur. There is extant a ground plan of the Saxon church as it existed in the twelfth century, and as Beda relates that Ulpha found the walls and pillars of the ancient church standing, and had only to supply it with doors, windows, and roof, to make it fit for divine service, and that the body of the structure was entire in his days, it is likely that this plan is descriptive of the edifice as erected under Constantine: but from this it would appear to be a correct copy of the Roman Basilica.

When the present church was erected, the architect took care to make the breadth and length of the afterwalk coincide with those of the ancient temple. The tomb of Arthur remains, and the grand altar is placed on the same spot on which it was probably erected more than seventeen centuries ago. The columns were sawn into pieces, and inclosed in the present walls and piers. The same use was made of the ancient walls. Every part of the pristine building was considered as sacred, and as necessary to be retained and employed in the body of the new. The old colonades consisted of thirty-eight pillars in each. The same number, though very different in size and fashion, is exhibited in the new.

The memory of the Artland princes is thus preserved in the writings of Beda. He likewise relates that twenty-five graves, similar in form to that in which the silver coffer and chain were discovered, and placed near each other in a row, were found by the queen Ulpha at the same time, but no regard was paid to them. On the contrary, the bones were cast out, and the cavities preserved for burying places to the abbots who succeeded her. It is somewhat remarkable that in the year 1134, when the new church was constructed, these graves were completely filled with twenty-five successive abbots.

These graves were excavations made in the rocky pavement, three feet wide and seven feet long at the top, and sixteen feet deep. The body was laid at the bottom in the bare stone, and covered with a flat stone made accurately to fit the opening, and supported by a ledge round it. There were three such lids, one above another, having between every two an interval of seven or eight feet, the upper one being even with

the floor of the church. There were inscriptions on the lower and upper stones, which were effaced by the Saxon sculptors, and replaced by inscriptions adapted to the new tenants of their tombs.

According to the plans of the second Arthur, an undercraft was to be hewn out beneath the whole of the new building, and this was to be reserved for a sepulchre or mausoleum. The under bye-walks were to be appropriated partly as sepulchres of the ancient abbots, a separate apartment being dedicated to each, and partly to the Carthew princes. The bones of the latter were irrecoverably lost; so that cenotaphs only could be erected to their honour. The earls palatine being considered as the successors of the Carthew princes, were naturally thought of as the proper tenants of these unoccupied tombs, and accordingly all the earls from Edgar Atheling to the last have been buried here.

The undercraft of Bellminster is therefore a sepulchre or mausoleum for the twenty-six princes of Carthew; for thirty-one Northumbrian kings from Ulla to Andrid, who reigned successively from 547, to 810, a period of 263 years; for eight of the Saxon kings of England, Ethelbald II, who died in 860, Ethelbert II, in 866, Ethelred I, in 872, and Alfred the Great, in 901, brothers, grandsons of Egbert. Athelstain, grand-son of Alfred who died in 940, and Edmund I, his brother, in 947, Edgar son of Edmund, in 975, and Edward the martyr, in 982, of the Norman Kings, Henry II, in 1189, and Henry V, in 1422, were buried here, and thirty-three earls of Bevern, twenty-five abbots, thirty bishops, and twenty-seven priors were also interred in these vaults. These Mausolea therefore are occupied with the tombs or graves, or monuments, of an hundred and eighty-five persons.

The Northumbrian king Edwin, removed the bodies of his predecessors hither, and he and his successors were buried here. Their bones have been unmolested, and lie together in a subterranean chapel, which was built for them in the twelfth century, pursuant to the plan of the fourth founder, and to which they were transferred with solemn rites. It branches out northward from the AFTERWALK, and is called Kirk Edwin. This appellation includes the three apartments, one above ano-

thier of this *offcell* or OFFKIRK, or *outcell* or *outkirk* as buildings of this kind are called in Athelney. Accurately speaking, the term *offcell* denotes a small chapel projecting from the side or lateral wall of a larger one; *outcell* signifies a chapel adjacent to another larger than itself, and connected with it by a covered way, cloister or gallery. *Offkirk* is a chapel belonging to a larger one, and near adjacent to it, but not adjoining it by a continued wall. *Outkirk*, is a church belonging to and dependant on another, but not built beside or very near it. The sixteen churches of Beverly are *outkirks* of St. Ulpha's or Belminster. So is at least one church in each of the eight burroughs. Of the eighty churches in Ormsey, eleven are *outkirks* of the cathedral. They were originally built, and are still maintained from its funds, and administered by curates and officers of its appointment. The whole number of these *outkirks* of St. Ulpha's is thirty-seven.

The history of Athelney, from the extinction of the Northumbrian kingdom in 547, to the Norman conquest in 1060, a period of 513 years, may be deemed wholly ecclesiastical. A charter of king Egbert, still extant, bestows the whole province, in absolute property and sovereignty, on the abbey of St. Ulpha, and in this form it continued to be governed till the eleventh century. The annals of the convent relate that such was the powerful protection of its heavenly guardians that the Danes, during this period, never violated its tranquility. It appears, however, by the same chronicles that the abbots were in general, men of wisdom and enterprize, and not only conducted well the internal government, but successfully resisted and repelled all efforts of foreign invaders. Athelney came to be considered as an holy and inviolable land, and the people of the less secured provinces took refuge within its confines. It was probably the most flourishing part of Britain during both the British and Saxon periods.

The terror of religion shielded this province from the violence of the Norman conquerors. On the submission of the abbot Kenulf, the brother of Edward the Confessor, all his rights were recognized and confirmed by William. At the death of this abbot, Anselm, an Italian monk was elected in 1069, but with his and the pope's consent, the patrimo-

ny of St. Ulpha was confined to the lordship of Carthew, and the rest of the province was bestowed as a feudatory kingdom upon Edgar Atheling, who bears the title of First Earl of Athelney. He continued to govern as such, till 1175, a period of 57 years, a longer period than the reign of any of his successors, except the one now living, who is the heir of Edgar, by regular lineal descent.

Since the time of Edgar, it has been the custom of this family to name their male children successively, Edgar, Arthur, Herbert, Edmond, Walter, Eustace ; and the females, Adela, Edwina, Eumenilda, Pamphela, Hellene. These, accordingly, are the only ones to be in the list of the sovereigns of Athelney. They are entitled, by the charter of William the Conqueror, to the name of king and queen, and in certain judicial proceedings this title is still given them. They, however, by no means affect it, and rather choose the title of earls palatine, by which they are familiarly known.

The most extraordinary character which this family has produced, was the countess Pamphela. She was the only child of Herbert Carril, earl palatine, and Mary, youngest daughter of Henry the Fourth. She was born in 1402, and was married at sixteen. She had three sons and a daughter. At twenty years old her husband and father died, and left her sole mistress of the earldoms of Athelney and Kent, and guardians of her children. Her eldest son, the heir of his father as earl of Kent, was the famous *King maker* who was slain at the battle of Barnet in 1471. Pamphela lived to the great age of ninety-seven in the possession of a vigorous constitution, and all her faculties unimpaired. Her second son was slain with his elder brother, at Barnet. Her third son was archbishop of York. The reign of Pamphela continued from 1422, being the 1st of Henry VI, to 1499, the 15th of Henry VII. She displayed extraordinary prudence in escaping from all the tempests and convulsions of the times, and preserving her little territory untouched by war or commotion for a period of 77 years. Though so nearly related to the crown, and though her sons were involved in the quarrels of the two roses, her caution and dexterity insured her safety under every revolution. She was the most celebrated beauty of the age, but being endowed with

masculine ambition, and a passion for government, she determined never to marry again, and her resolution and constancy in rejecting the numerous matrimonial offers that were made her, were subjected to the most severe trials. She was learned and accomplished beyond all the women of her age, and many of her compositions, in prose and verse, in Latin and English, are still extant. Except a journey which she made through France, and to the chief towns of Italy in 1430, she never passed the limits of Athelney, after the death of her father. She was exceedingly devout, and her enthusiasm even carried her into the persuasion that her body was a second incarnation of St. Pamphela, and exempted from disease and death till she herself should desire her own dissolution. This belief was adopted by her at the age of twenty-one, and her subsequent experience bore a surprising conformity to this precaution.

She had many singular opinions on religious topics. She maintained the absolute equality of the two sexes, and the right of woman to perform the sacerdotal functions. These opinions, however, she never so far reduced to practice as to expose herself to molestation and scandal. At the death of her uncle Herbert Carril, bishop of Carthew, in 1429, she conceived the design of investing herself with the pontifical dignity, and uniting in her own person, not only the temporal and spiritual privileges which were formerly conjoined in the Saxon abbots, but all the sacerdotal power vested in the bishops of Carthew by the papal Bull. To obtain the papal sanction to this scheme, was a chief object of her journey to Rome in the following year, and she pursued it further and more pertinaciously than was consistent with her known prudence. Finding it however, too violent an attack upon the prejudice of the age, she was obliged reluctantly to give it up, and procured the appointment to that office of her tutor Alfonzo.

Alfonzo was of unknown parentage. He was found a child of six years old, without guardian or companion, sitting on the steps of the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by the countess's father, while on a pilgrimage to that city, about the year 1375. Being struck with the noble countenance of the child, who applied to him for alms, the earl took him under his protection, and returned with him to Europe. He was left

at a college in Florence, where he was carefully instructed in all the literature of the times, and became a very eminent scholar. In 1411, he came to England by the directions of his patron, and undertook the education of his daughter. He had previously entered into holy orders, and when Pamphela grew up, she made him her chaplain, confessor and counsellor. He was like his mistress, of a warm, enthusiastic temper, and was the author of most of her peculiar habits and opinions. He felt or feigned an unbounded reverence for her character and station, and first suggested to her mind the notion of her kindred to St. Pamphela. He behaved to her, finally, more as a worshipper than an equal. He refused to accept of any office or preferment which led him away from attendance on her person, but persuaded her at the same time, that she was above the necessity or duty of treating him as a spiritual father or confessor. Finding it impracticable to place the mitre on her own head, she procured it to be placed on that of her preceptor, who yielded with great reluctance to her command, and administered the office, when he had gained it under her constant and entire and absolute controul. Such was the strange fascination of these persons, that the bishop, in his life of Pamphela, acknowledges, though somewhat obscurely, that there was a connection between them, first proposed by her, and concurred with by him through mere deference to a will which could not err. This circumstance he says did not abate the veneration which he entertained for her, and his submission to her political or spiritual orders. This intercourse, he says, by a special indulgence of St. Pamphela, vocally imparted to them at her shrine, was unattended with offspring. If we except this strange infatuation of the bishop in relation to his mistress, there is reason to describe him as a wise and upright prelate, who governed his see with great prudence and integrity. He governed this church from 1431 to 1463, or thirty-two years.

St. Pamphela was a maiden of obscure birth, being no better than a shepherd's daughter, and lived in the time of Alfred, in the village to which that prince retired on one occasion from the pursuit of the Danish conquerors. She had passed a devout life from her infancy, and the neighbourhood regarded her as one whose prayers would intercede more powerfully for them

in the courts of heaven, than those of any other dead or living patroness. She is said to have recognized Alfred at his first appearance in the village, notwithstanding his disguise, and her previous unacquaintance with his person. She likewise bid him be of good cheer, and assured him that he should finally subdue the barbarous invaders, and enjoy a long and prosperous reign. She died and was buried in a grove, with an humble stone over her. This rustic tomb was frequented by the villagers, and the spirit of the maid was invoked in hymns and prayers, and her kind regard for her natal spot was testified by many miraculous favours bestowed upon her worshippers. Alfred in his prosperity, ordered a church to be built over her grave, and endowed it with the fields around it, as an income to a priest, who should be appointed by the abbot of St. Ulpha, and who shall pray daily for his soul. After the death of Alfred, the church of St. Pamphela gained but little notice. The rental of the ground given by Alfred, afforded a very slender stipend to the chantry priest, and though the church was occasionally repaired by the personal labour of the villagers, it was after the lapse of five hundred years, in a very sorry and decayed condition. St. Pamphela, however, was not entirely neglected or despised by the country at large. Her name found a place in the Carthew Calendar, and her chapel was generally found, in a corner of the greater churches; but her altar was seldom honoured with religious rites.

Mary, the mother of the countess, had suffered several miscarriages, before the birth of this daughter. These she had in vain endeavoured to avert by prayers and pilgrimages to several popular shrines. While pregnant with this daughter, she chanced to be overtaken by a storm, while travelling from London to Beverly, and took refuge in a cottage hard by the church of Pamphela. Her personal feelings began to threaten her with a new disaster, when an old woman present exhorted her to seek the aid of St. Pamphela, who, according to her report was never prayed to in vain. The advice was followed, and while praying at the shrine of Pamphela, the countess felt her healthful feelings return, and a grateful assurance that on this occasion, all would be well. Three months after she was safely delivered of a daughter, whom she called by the name

of her divine benefactress. In the same year she died, but left a writing behind apprizing her daughter of the debt she owed to this Saint, and enjoining her to pay it by honour and worship. This letter described the circumstances of her application to the humble shrine of St. Pamphela, and related that the answer to her application was audibly made in these terms: "Mary, thy prayer is heard. A daughter thou shalt have. Wise shall she be, and long her life, for I myself shall be thy daughter." It was on the latter and mysterious part of this promise, that the countess built her flattering belief of a near alliance between her and the sainted Pamphela, and which her counsellor endeavoured to fortify by metaphysical arguments in support of such a transfusion or transmigration of souls.

The countess, from the period of childhood, fostered a preference for a single and devotional, though not a cloistered life. Her father's will was opposite to hers and compelled her not only to marry, but in consequence of that marriage, to forsake her native country, and reside in London and Kent. The premature death of her husband was happily followed very soon by that of her father, who, if he had survived many months, would have compelled her to a second marriage with the son of a German prince, and thus condemned her for the rest of her life, to an abode among strangers in a foreign land, and have bereaved her of all the privileges and enjoyments which she held most dear. The earl her father was of a gloomy, austere and impious character, and regarded his daughter as the mere slave of his humours, and tool of his ambition. His design was that she should leave England forever, and leave her children in his guardianship, and after his death, in that of his brother the bishop of Carthew. This melancholy destiny was averted by his sudden death.

She returned and took quiet possession of her patrimony. Her uncle, the bishop, was somewhat of her father's character, and endeavoured to persuade or intimidate her into a fulfilment of her father's intentions, both with regard to herself and her children, but being now legally independant, she was of too lofty a spirit to brook the controul of any one. She incurred considerable inconvenience and inquietude from her uncle's

character, but she still got the better of him in every contest in which they were engaged. Finally, she was relieved from this source of trouble, by the prelate's resignation of this see, and translation to York, to which he was induced to consent on finding all his efforts to reign in Athelney unsuccessful. There was much contention between them about his successor. She was anxious to promote her tutor Alfonzo, to this high station, but her uncle would only consent to give up his place to a creature of his own, Martin Exetor, already prior of St. Ulphas. As Martin was old and infirm, and had no pretensions to authority from his birth, she finally agreed to his election.

On her first accession to her heritance, she indulged herself in schemes for honouring her peculiar patroness, but she was thwarted in these by the two bishops. She naturally conceived the resolution of building a church and convent on the spot consecrated by the grave of St. Pamphela, but the ground belonged to the bishopric, and no religious foundation could be formed without his concurrence and sanction. This sanction not only the uncle denied, but his successor, by his instigation, though under plausible pretexts, continued to refuse it. She was, therefore, obliged to delay the execution of her plans, till the death of Martin should remove the present obstacles. The pontifical authority was even exerted to present the smallest indulgence of her wishes on this head. She was suffered neither to enrich nor adorn the tomb itself, nor to translate the hallowed bones to a new depository, nor to introduce into the chapel of her own palace, any new rites or other objects of worship. The opposition of her uncle was more blunt, positive and rude, but Martin, without being more compliant, was more civil, and covered his refusals under a veil of arguments and scruples. Alfonzo endeavoured to console her under these vexations, by persuading her that as the soul of St. Pamphela was actually enshrined in her own person, and it was the spirit of the Saint alone which was the proper object of worship, all devotional rites addressed to this Saint as to a being different from herself, would be absurd. These arguments had certainly some influence, but their tendency was to deprive her of the pleasure of devout exercises; the consciousness of enjoy-

ing the favour and protection of an immortal, celestial and powerful friend, and the sweet emotions of gratitude and mental intercourse with an inhabitant of Heaven. It was impossible to distinguish, in the operation of her own thoughts, in the nature of her own faculties, any traces of connection or affinity with a pre-existent being, or any marks of an origin essentially superior to the rest of mankind. Besides, Pamphela, by assuming a new form, lost all the privileges for a time of her ærial and disembodied state, without any adequate or intelligible motive or purposes. To the scruples arising from these sources, her confessor had only to alledge the material possibility of such an incarnation; the express declarations of the Saint to her mother; the fetters which are necessarily connected with an human or embodied condition, and the effect which time might have in unfolding the great purposes which such an incarnation might answer. These arguments were favoured by her vanity, and an incident that happened when she was about twenty-nine years old, at once confirmed her convictions and removed the inconveniences attending them. She dreamed one night that she was performing her orisons in a private oratory of her own palace, when suddenly her right side opened, and there issued a beautiful and youthful female, bearing in lineaments and figure an exact resemblance to herself. The sprite regarded her with heavenly smiles, and waving her hand in adieus, vanished from her sight, after pronouncing these words. "I am thy second and better self, I have cleaved to thee and guarded thee thus long, because there was no other earthly sanctuary meet for me. Now I return to Heaven, but still will I watch and befriend thee. But I can hear thee only at the spot where my bones lie, and that is the haunt that delights me most. The time is come that allows us to meet there. Farewell." At that moment, she was awakened by a messenger, who informed her of the sudden death of Martin the bishop.

She was very naturally disposed to consider this dream as a warning or message from above, and this impression was confirmed by the coincidence of the death of the noxious bishop. By placing Alfonzo in his place, she for the future, rendered her will absolute in all ecclesiastical affairs, and had no

further opposition to dread. She forthwith determined to build a church and convent at Pamphilly, worthy of her opulence and her gratitude. Her immense revenues being administered with temperance and order, allowed of very large funds for prosecuting any work of this kind. On a survey being made by her order, she found that the parish of Pamphilly bore a considerable resemblance to that of Beverly. That it was a smooth and round eminence of about six thousand acres, descending on all sides to a branch of the Derwent river, by which it was almost encircled, and which was augmented by a copious spring situated nearly at the summit; that a fertile soil covered a rocky bottom, of the same nature with Ulverstone. These discoveries gradually enlarged her views, and she was finally determined to make this her own place of abode. It was at present nearly covered by an ancient forest of oak, and occupied only by the little village of Pamphilly. The new bishop transferred it to her in exchange for other lands of more than equal value, in the neighbourhood of Beverly.

In deciding on a plan for her intended structure, the countess was governed by the reverence paid to the temple of St. Ulpha. The second Arthur persuaded himself, or endeavoured to persuade others, that his temple was designed under the special and immediate inspiration of his celestial patron: or rather, when the opinion was adopted, that the second was merely the incarnation of the first Arthur, it followed that all his acts and purposes carried with them a sanction and authority superior to those of common mortals. Hence the original plan of St. Ulpha was scrupulously followed by the successors of the deified bishop, and this plan was fortunately constructed in so ample and comprehensive a scale, that the unlooked for zeal and opulence, and ingenuity of subsequent times were no more than able, though they were fully able, to execute and fill up the stupendous outline.

Among the reveries of the bishop, there were many that related to the local circumstances of that Heaven or paradise destined for the future abode of the good. All images of this kind, so far as they approach distinctness, must necessarily correspond with the object of terrestrial experience. The only imaginable perfection must consist in certain events and quali-

ties, of our present existence, rendered absolute and perpetual. Thus the condition of the blessed, is always made up in human contemplations, of such images as health, intellectual activity, the social and benevolent affections, enjoyed and exercised in the highest degree, and with endless and uninterrupted duration. Of physical incidents, we have all those that are most valued at present : *light*, permanent, universal, salutary and even nutritious ; temperature, delicious and uniform, and all manner of agreeable accommodation exuberantly and spontaneously supplied : all celestial visions are naturally connected with images of the benefactor or disposer of these goods, and the pleasure which accompanies gratitude and devotion, even here leads us to conceive that these will be the predominant emotions and employments in paradise. In minds accustomed to the pomp of a ceremonious religion, the images of music, temple, altar, sanctuary, naturally find place, and Heaven in all these particulars, is but a splendid improvement of earthly plans. In men of architectural taste, these visions of glory and felicity have always an intimate connection with buildings. In their ages, the paradisaical landscape is always filled with architectural magnificence, and in the paradises of a Gothic Saint, or poet, their peculiar hand will be known by many a towered structure, high with glistening spires and pinnacles adorned. It was not surprising therefore that the episcopal designer of Belminster should consider the utmost exertion of his own fancy in this way as vying in magnificence with any thing contrived by celestial builders, and the work of invention in all the arts, is, to the inventor, so much like inspiration, that he could hardly escape the belief that the aid which he earnestly craved was actually granted. I have resolved, said he, in his orisons, to build an house worthy of thee. So thou hover near, while I labour on the plan. Guide my pencil thyself, and be it thy work, not mine. Thou dost approach. Thou guidest my hand. The work is thine, not mine, and be it sacrilege in me and my successors to vary in the least from what thou hast willed it to be. In this temple, thou hast but copied thy own celestial mansion, and it is a sublunary home thou wilt not disdain. Sometimes, well pleased, thou wilt walk here. The multitude of thy worshippers shall know thy pre-

sence, and thou wilt love the house that is dedicated to thee, and that is most like to thy own, which is in Heaven. This was certainly a sufficient foundation to build the devout belief that St. Ulpha was a temple of peculiar sanctity, and a lovely copy of the temples of Heaven. This sacredness however belongs only to the grand plan, and general distribution. It is not connected either with the materials, the actual dimensions, or the ornaments of the elevation. In all these respects, a creative fancy will naturally picture the temple of the heavenly Ulpha as magically wrought out of a single germ, as large enough to cover the surface of a kingdom, and as containing a million of historical scenes in the face of a single tablet. In these respects devout or poetical fancies enjoy an unlimited range, while the scene before them is a commodious guide and a powerful prompter to their invention. The earthly material consists only of plain dull and ponderous stone, while a nearer imitation of supernal magnificence has been sometimes attempted by the patience of monastic ingenuity, in miniature models of gold, silver, ivory or glass.

All the churches of Bevernshire are in some respects, copies of Belminster. Their dimensions, however, are much smaller, and, with one exception, the members less complete. The countess Pamphela was at first determined to produce an entire copy, varying only in some of the dimensions. She was afraid of attempting a copy of the full size, but her vanity was gratified, by producing a more magnificent and spacious structure, relatively considered, while the breadth and length of the whole, and of all the parts, were reduced to two thirds, the height was made the same, by the addition of a fourth story, hence the number of apartments in the *mansion* will be augmented by one third, and the relative height of the roof of the *walks* and *cells* is increased in the same proportion. In the style, the ornamental Gothic of the fifteenth century, would of course be liberally introduced, while the several modes of the former age are exemplified in the ancient edifice. This diversity in size and ornament very happily coincided with the analogy between the respective divinities or *genii* of these temples; one of them being masculine, and connected with the general laws and institutions of the country, and the other be-

ing peculiarly dedicated to the honour and use of women. The former, agreeably to this distinction, is gigantic, ponderous, plain and massy, while the other is comparatively light, slender, airy and highly decorated. Pope Felix of this family, and his sister, the dame of Whitney, in the ensuing century engrafted all the forms of the Grecian and Roman architecture, from the same plan: the former adopting a proportion one ninth less, and the latter a proportion two ninths less than those of St. Ulpha's. Hence there are two Gothic and two padodian models of this great design, including the degrees of size from six to nine while Bevernshire exhibits a vast number of less complex edifices, moulded after the same pattern, but having less dimensions.

The *Templum Felecianum*, or church and convent of St. Ulpha at Rome, was the favourite project of that Pontiff, and on which he lavished a vast deal of taste and wealth. It is among the most splendid edifices in Christendom, and the only one upon the continent, in which the Morgan or Pelagian ritual is used. The pope made it his favourite residence and all the treasures of sculpture, painting, tapestry and mosaic, are collected in it. It was a convent appropriated to the English nation, females only of that nation being admitted into it, and placed under the patronage of the Italian branch of the Carril family. The only survivor of this family, the cardinal of Berven, a man eighty years old and upward, was compelled to flight, on the revolution which the French effected lately in Rome. His English extraction, and his great zeal against the invaders made him peculiarly noxious to these ministers of havock. All his estates were confiscated, and this convent was pillaged.

These events were in some degree foreseen by the earl palatine, and he was extremely anxious to rescue his kinsman from the impending ruin. He was likewise ardently desirous of preserving the precious as well as sacred contents of this convent and palace, from the destructive cupidity of the French, and by the same means to enrich England with the most splendid monuments of the arts which Italy contained. The calamities of Rome, occasioned by the French invasion, operated

most propitiously upon the views of the earl palatine, and enabled him to accompany a wish, which, when it was formed, might have been ranked with impossibilities.

When he first visited Italy with his sister Ellen, in 1729, they hastened with equal zeal and curiosity to the shrine of St. Ulpha at Rome. In the midst of their admiration of innumerable works of art it contained, the sister observed, fancifully, that if the wand of the builder-devil in Milton could transfer a temple ready built, as easily as it could raise one from the ground, and she could get hold of it for one happy moment, she would forthwith try its power on the church before them, and set it quietly down in one corner of Bevernshire, walls, statues, pictures, ruins, and all. The brother smiled, and observed that it did not require a miraculous word to transfer all that was of any value. An house of the same kind might be built, with the old fashioned tools of chissel and trowel, and a stout ship might safely transport all the moveables before them. That said the sister, is as impossible morally, as the other is physically. The brother however lived to see this removal actually take place.

The progress of the French revolution gradually converted England into a refuge for the Catholic religion, even from Rome itself; and the vigilance of the earl palatine enabled the cardinal to transport in safety hither, not only his person and money, but every thing moveable in his palace; every thing which could be detached from the walls without material injury. The great and valuable library; all the contents of the museum in statuary, reliefs, and medals; all the appendages and ornaments of the sanctuary, together with all the plate, cabinet and furniture were carried to England, and deposited with little variation of their ancient order.

Beda relates that among the manuscripts transmitted to him from Rome, as having been carried thither by Morgan, was a copy of a translation into Latin verse of David's Psalms, together with thirteen tragedies in the same language. According to Morgan, these were the works of the eleventh Arthur, composed during his residence at Rome, and where he received his education. They were introduced into religious worship by him, on his return to Aitland, and were gradually

adopted by many of the churches of the island. This circumstance gave them extraordinary sanctity in the eyes of the Saxon converts, and especially of the members of this convent. When Beda became abbot, he introduced this psaltry into the use of his own church, and obtained the papal sanction for the innovation. All the churches of Bevern successively adopted this ritual, and have maintained it till the present day. Though an exception to the Roman methods of worship, it has always been considered as orthodox, within certain limits. In the Roman Pamphiline convent, this ritual was likewise employed exclusively of all others.

The Psalms of David are the genuine effusions of a man, dictated by a great variety of feelings and situations, which occurred during an eventful life. There are few men, therefore, and particularly few princes, who cannot find passages in these odes, adapted to almost all the sentiments and incidents which have befallen themselves. They are addressed by David to that Divinity who ruled his own destiny. They may therefore be addressed, without impropriety, by any other person to their guardian power; these therefore are commodious vehicles of devotion, which have been employed by almost all christian sects.

In the creed of the Carthic church, this particular version of the psalms is the sole and indispensable instrument of worship; but this is all that it enjoins. The order, proportions or times in which this book is employed is, in some degree, submitted to the choice of individuals and societies. There is also some licence allowable with regard to proper names of places and persons. Alterations confined solely to these, and so managed as to produce no alteration or confusion of metre, are not forbidden. It is thus that these odes have been modelled into a series of hymns addressed to Arthur, Ulpha or Pamphila, and adapted to the incidents of their lives. They may be considered as forming the bible of this sect, from which all its verbal formularies and observances are taken.

It is well known that this paraphrase has been ranked by all critics, with the purest and most classical productions of the Romans. With respect to time Arthur was the last of the Roman, and the first of the Christian poets, but while all admirers

of Latinity read him with delight, the habitual impressions of a Gothic reader, give a sanctity, significance and elevation to this poetry which no one else can discover in it. Every line and passage has a great number of interesting allusions and correspondences. Every church and convent in Bevershire, has some peculiarity in its liturgy or psaltry, but the store-house from which all is taken is the psaltry or version of the psalms.

This version consists of about eight thousand lines, which equally divided among the days of the year gives about twenty-two lines to each. The simplest ritual therefore, would be to divide the whole into 365 parts, and assign a part, in the original order, to each day. A more judicious system would, however, adopt the pieces to seasons, occasions and anniversaries, so that the sentiments expressed may bear some relation to the day or the event commemorated.

Beda mentions the titles of thirteen dramas which accompanied the psaltry. Two of them at present only remain, and these two began respectively the series of such as were constructed on Hebrew and Christian subjects. The originals were built, two of them upon the history of Jephtha and Sampson; and four of them upon the chief incidents of the life of David. The latter, Morgan relates, were adopted by the modern poet, from the resemblance which the plots bore to the transactions of his own life. The rebellion of Absalom; David's treatment of Uriah; David's exile: the conquest of Goliath. The seven remaining dramas, commemorated the principal events in the life of Christ. The history of John the Baptist; Christ in the wilderness; Christ when a youth in the temple; Christ tried; Christ crucified; and Christ arisen. In these performances were introduced, in pure Iambics, all the actions and sayings of Christ, recorded by the Evangelists; of these Jephtha, and the Baptist only remain. When the judgment and eloquence displayed in these, are considered, the deepest regret is felt for the loss of the others. The two extant contain about 2800 lines, so that the twelve probably contained about 16,800 lines, and including the version of the psalms, about 25,000 excellent and classical lines.

In the sixteenth century, when Latin literature flourished so eminently throughout Europe, and especially at Carthew, many ambitious poets of this college, endeavoured to fill up the chasm. On each topic, there are seventeen pieces, the product of this century, of considerable merit, but those of bishops Osban and Elbert, are authoritatively allowed to be the happiest imitations, and are admitted as the classical and orthodox objects of academical study, and religious meditation.

All the copies of the psaltry and dramas, are supposed to have perished in the conflagration of the convent, in 1140, except a single mutilated copy. This misfortune arose from a superstitious aversion in the church of Carthew, to any dispersion of this work beyond the walls of the monastery, nor was it without a solemn synodal decree, that the bishop Arthur, was permitted to take a copy from the house. The prelate was desirous of having this treasure constantly about his person, and obtained, with much difficulty, the privilege of copying with his own hand, the psaltry, and two of the tragedies. No solicitations availed to extort permission for copying those relating to the life of either David or Christ, and though all of these were probably had by rote by many of the monks, the massacre of the whole body, extinguished even the remembrance of them. From certain allusions in the epistles of the bishop it is evident that this convent possessed entire copies of Tacitus and Livy, which irrecoverably perished by the same event. Its rich and curious library, abounded with historical monuments, and possessed all the manuscripts of Morgan which Beda had procured from Rome.

The first bishop's manuscript was deposited in an apartment of the new house, allotted on purpose for it, and has ever since been regarded as a sacred relique. All subsequent copies have been originally made from this, and it constitutes the standard of correctness. It is unveiled and consulted only by particular officers and with religious ceremonies, and though the safety of the temple is not considered as depending on keeping every copy within these walls, the preservation of this copy is supposed to be essential to that safety. The art of printing has multiplied the copies of the work abundantly, and there is now no danger of its perishing. The labour which most

other ancient writings have cost in comparing different manuscripts, has been totally unknown with regard to these performances, as the earliest and authentic manuscript is still preserved, and what is very remarkable, there is not a single demonstrable or probable error to be detected in it. There is no instance of misspelling or confusion in the sense.

Theatrical exhibitions, confined however entirely to these pieces, have ever been in use at Carthew. They have always been considered as a part of religious worship, and times, places, and persons have been assigned to them, with awful and scrupulous care. All the magic of music has likewise been joined to it, and splendid orations have arisen out of them. In the mansion of Belminster there are two apartments called respectively the votarium, or votary, in which the Jephtha is performed four times a year, and the Baptisterium, or Baptistry, appropriated to the representation of the Baptists. These, as being the genuine performances of Arthur, are regarded with most reverence, and the scenery and all appendages belonging to them are fixed in the walls and ceilings, and are immutable. The Elbertine and Osbanene pieces are performed respectively in two other theatres, and these apartments are deemed essential to every large and complete conventual establishment in Bevernshire.

As the countess Ulpha continued to meditate on the plan of her intended shrine, she naturally deviated from her first modest resolution of faithfully copying the plan before her. Her imagination gradually placed her own dignity and divinity on a level with that of the deified bishop, and these variations which her fancy suggested and her judgment approved in the model at Belminster, were represented by her counsellor Alfonzo as flowing as truly and directly from inspiration as the sketches of the bishop. Hence arose all the particulars of the plan as actually executed, and in which there is only a general resemblance to the great maternal church.

In order to obtain some historical knowledge of her patroness, minute inquiries were made at Ulwin respecting her birth and achievements. These existed only in memory and tradition, but Ulwin was so secluded a recess, and the people had continued from age to age with so little change from migration

or intermixture from foreign guests, that the stream of tradition had flowed on with an undisturbed and undiminished course. Five centuries and twenty generations had since passed away, but the legend was as copious, and the ballad as minute as if the rehearser had been a witness of the scene described.

The countess, accompanied by proper scribes and registers, took up her abode for some months at this village. All that could relate any thing of Ulpha, were carefully examined. The rude ditty or marvellous tale of one was compared with that of another and thus an entire story or poem was framed of the various and disjointed testimony of several rehearsers.

Happily for the countess's purpose, she was informed that there was a very aged native of this village who was blessed with a remarkable memory, and who far exceeded all his countrymen in the extent of his information respecting Ulpha. This man whose name was Ralf, had been for many years in the habit of wandering through the kingdom, as a tinker, and was accustomed to return periodically to Ulwin, and spend here a few weeks in a year. He was absent during the visit of the countess, and she was so anxious to procure a sight of him, that she sent messengers every where in pursuit of him. As he had pursued nearly the same route for forty years together, he was traced without much difficulty to an ale house in a little village in Shropshire, and conveyed without delay, to the palace of Beverly. He was an hale and cheerful old man, whose age according to his own account, exceeded ninety years. He still retained a clear strong voice, and chanted forth, with great melody and promptitude, a sort of ballad or tale in very rude verse, and in his native dialect, and consisting of upwards of eight thousand lines, entirely devoted to the history of Ulpha. He related that about forty years previous to this period, he had taken up his present mode of life, in consequence of the loss, by an epidemical disease, which laid waste his village, of his wife, and a numerous family of children. In order to amuse his solitary rambles, he revolved in his mind the images of his childhood, and gradually revived in his memory, all the verses which he then recited, and which he had heard, in mutilated parts, from various old men and women, at an early age. He was chiefly indebted to the priest

of the village church, with whom he used to sit whole nights together, at the church door, and to whose songs he was wont to listen with the most eager and devout attention. These fragments he put into chronological order, so as to form the coherent narration of the birth, life, and death of the blessed Ulfha. He had taken up a notion that it was a religious duty to recite the whole of these at least once a month, so that they were fixed in his memory by no less than five hundred recitations. He related, however, that while walking or working he was continually and hourly employed in these recitals. They afforded him the highest delight, and this was betrayed in all his looks and gestures while employed in singing them.

It is by no means improbable, that the old bard supplied a great many links in this long chain from his own imagination. He, however, when questioned on this point, always denied with marks of horror, that he had used any such licence. He considered the least subtraction or addition as profane and highly criminal. The performance was taken from his lips by the countess herself, and all the obscurities of phraseology were explained at the time by reference to the usage of the village. She likewise translated the whole into literal Latin prose, and regarded every tittle as a sacred and infallible record of the truth.

By this surprising train of circumstances, the simple, home-bred unlettered daughter of a shepherd, in the most obscure and sequestered part of England, became, after an oblivion of five centuries, a personage of great importance, and even identified with the most illustrious lady of the age. Her bones were taken from a grave, only known to a poor hamlet, and reinterred in the most magnificent tomb in Europe. From mere mortal, she rose into a powerful deity, and her name was consecrated and adored by a whole community. The simple recital of her actions existed, thus long only in the memory of a few rude villagers, and was, indeed, at last, confined to a single pilgrim, who had chanted them for years in highways, and forests, without the attention or respect of a single hearer. They were now suddenly recorded upon vellum, studied and rehearsed by queens and nobles, and a palace of gold and marble was erected for the abode of those whose whole duty it

should be to hymn her divinity, and perpetuate her memory. One of her disciples was even to become the head of the christian church, and the most splendid monuments were to rise to her honour in the metropolis of Christendom. Such was one of those marvellous turns in human affairs, which indeed are daily occurring, though they are not often observed.

Ralf's poem was certainly, in every point of view, a very curious performance. Considered as the work of untutored genius, it reminds us forcibly of Homer and Shakespear, and we are naturally led to look into it for those efforts of fancy, sublimity and pathos, which it is sometimes supposed are most successfully made by such as enjoy least aid from education or experience. The nature of the subject too suggests the expectation of extraordinary novelty. Instead of violent and sanguinary feats, this poem records the actions of a female whose sole ornaments are piety, chastity, forbearance. The love which she bears to her God and her fellow creatures is fervent and unbounded, and her efforts to do them good is aided by miraculous power. The circumstances of the time enabled to promote the common good of the whole nation, by contributing to the safety and success of the great Alfred, and this heroic prince acts a conspicuous part in the plot of the poem.

The revival of Roman literature in Italy, took place before the conclusion of the long reign of the countess Ulpha. She and the bishop Alfonzo were zealous patrons of their improvement, and bishop Melwin who succeeded Alfonzo, and who received an Italian education, owed his elevation chiefly to his proficiency in classical learning. He gained the attention and favour of the countess by presenting her an elegant version in Latin hexameters of the poem of Ralf, with a series of above an hundred hymns in lyric measure, in the same language, in honour of St. Ulpha. The countess was so highly pleased with these performances, which indeed are the best specimens of modern Latinity, that she erected on them an entirely new ritual and office, and they have since been exclusively employed in the religious exercises of the Ulphalines. This order pays them the same reverence with which the Arthurites regard the psaltry and dramas of Arthur; and painting and sculpture have been as copiously employed in embodying the conceptions

of Ralf and Melwin as of Arthur, especially in the Roman convent. In the Melwin psaltry, the poet has artfully interwoven the history and praises of the two Ulphas, so that the chantress in signing them, unites the adoration of both divinities.

The zeal with which the countess prosecuted the design of the new building, enabled her to accomplish this magnificent work in forty-five years. It was begun in 1430, and she had the pleasure of settling a sisterhood of Ulphalines in this temple and mansion in 1475, and of surviving this memorable and desirable event upwards of twenty-four years. She had previously established the sisterhood in one of her own castles. The seasonable aid of Melwin enabled her to begin the new establishment with the new office. The bones of the two Ulphas were, in due season, inclosed in the same tomb, and formed the great altar of Ulminster.

Ulminster is divided, like the other convents, into manse, the abode or habitation of the members of the sisterhood, and kirk, church, chapel or temple. Annexed to the temple are four great edifices. One of these is a palace designed for the abode of the countesses of Athelney in their widowhood, or at any time of their marriage, provided they are not accompanied thither by their husbands, or by any male adult person. It is the seat, at all times, of a kind of conventual establishment or company, who are placed under the controul of the absent or residing countess, and who form, when she is present, her peculiar household or train of domestics. This palace has a peculiar kirk or cell, called the queen's cell, which with the remainder, called the queen's manse, are included under the general appellation of queenstead.

The second adjoining edifice is called frinestead. Of the three classes into which the order of the pearl is divided, the third or frines as they are called, consist of six or eight hundred persons, and their deputies, amounting to about an hundred, assemble annually in this hall, to discuss the concerns of their class, to admit new associates, and to weigh the claims alleged, or complaints made to them. It is divided into an hall (called trenatis) which is the immediate place of general meeting, and an adjacent manse, occupied by a company which are

their attendants at their meetings, and the scribes and registers of their proceedings.

The queen's manse contains seventy-two apartments, all circular, two thirds of which are twelve feet in diameter, and the remaining third twenty-one. Forty of the former are chambers or closets for the permanent convent. Four of the latter are chambers for the train of the queen or her guests. Four are the queen's apartments, and of the remaining eight, four are designed for piazza, refectory, kitchen and parlour, and four for the regular employments of the sisterhood. When the establishment is complete it consists of forty persons.

The frine manse contains eighteen apartments, of which twelve are chambers for the resident officers of this class, and their domestics. The remaining six are composed of an hall or thoroughfare, parlour, registry, monitory, discretery and oratory. They eat and drink in the great manse, and their laundry and bath are at a distance.

The third and fourth great adjacent edifices are constructed nearly on the same plan, and consist of one great hall, with three recesses of large dimensions. They terminate respectively the grand crosswalk of the temple and are essential parts of it. One of them is designed for the election and inauguration of the prioress or dame of Ulwin, and for that ceremony which annually commemorates that election. The choice of an head to the order is conducted with a great number of solemnities and forms. It can only take place on one day of the year which is the anniversary of that on which the house was originally consecrated: and hence in the Fasti of the house is called Damesday. The ceremonies attending it, are minutely detailed and ordained in a volume called the Augural, the study, exposition, and custody of which are the province of two officers called the auguralists. Dame or domina is the title of the mistress of the order. Hence this solemn day is likewise called *dies dominicus* or the dominical, the hall aula dominales, or the dominal, or dame's hall, while the apartments in the manse assigned to her is the mansio dominaris, or the dominary.

The crosswalk opens on the dame's hall on one side, and on the queen's hall on the other. This last is likewise called aula reginalis, or the reginal. The queen of Athelney cannot exer-

cise certain prerogatives within this district, belonging to her as a consort of the king, till she has been recognised by the dame and sisters, and this recognition must be made in this hall. The solemn appearance of the lady here is a necessary part of the ceremony. If she is hereditary queen this is the scene of her coronation, a particular ceremonial being adapted to each case.

We come now to the kirk properly so called. This is divided into three parts. The porch, the walk, and the cell. The porch is divided into gateway, ingate, fore porch, middle porch, after porch and two bye porches. Four of these are separate apartments, divided into several stores, making in all an assemblage of fifteen rooms. The middle porch was above the rest in the shape of a square tower, three hundred and sixty feet high. There are likewise four round angular towers eighteen feet diameter, and two hundred and sixteen high, containing staircases that connect these apartments. The ingate has likewise two divisions into middle ingate, and ingate ends.

The walk is divided into two parts: outwalk and inwalk. The outwalk into middle outwalk and two outwalk ends, of which one is called the queen's end, and the other the dame's end. The queen's end is a vestibule to the palace and belongs to it on some occasions. The dame's end opens into the frine-hall.

The inwalk is divided into fore-walk, cross-walk and after-walk; to the latter and former there are lateral passages called bye-walks, the fore-bye's and after-bye's. Of these there are two tiers or stories; the upper-bye's and lower bye's subdivided into upper fore-bye and lower fore-bye; upper after-bye and lower after-bye. The upper fore-bye on the north is called the queen's walk; the south upper fore-bye is called the dame's walk. The upper and lower bye's are also more shortly called the high walks and low walks; the after-bye, or high walk on the north, the upper alley is called Ulsway, on the south Ella-way. Those under are respectively called, under-Ulls and under-Ellas; under-Queens, under-Dames.

In each of these bye-walks, the whole number being eight, the passage is divided into pier-way and under-way; each under-way is likewise a cell, of which consequently there are thirty-two in all, a number corresponding with the elders of

the house. Each of the latter therefore has the peculiar charge of one of these window cells, and performs the office of an oratrix at its sanctuary. The divine power that presides in each of them is supposed to be the good genius, or better angel, or guardian spirit of her votary, and is named after that votary, numerically, with the addition of *Cœlesti's*, thus: *Prima Seniora Cœlesti's*: *Secunda Seniora*, &c. &c. or more briefly *Primella Secundella*, &c.

The cell or great cell, is the place dedicated to worship, and to the peculiar worship of St. Ulpha. It consists of a central apartment, surrounded by lateral aisles and galleries. The latter open at four points into the central hall, and are divided into five stories on the north and south sides, and into two stories on the east and west. The lateral galleries have each of them four openings into the middle spaces, while the east end is moulded into a deep semicircular recess.

THE lordships of Orme and Walney, came into the king's wardship by the death of the tenth earl of Orme and Walney, with no other issue than a daughter under age, in the year 1195, shortly after the return of Richard the First, from Palestine. This prince had been extricated from a perilous situation, near Acre, by the courage of a military friar of the hospital. The king was anxious to reward this service, but his preserver merely demanded, that on the king's return to his own country, he would show his devotion to Heaven, by founding a monastery, and calling his adviser to the head of it.

The name of this monk, was Arthur Carril. He was lineally descended from Arthur, a chief of Cambrian extraction, whose family had been in immemorial possession of these lordships, previous to the Norman invasion, and who possessed them at that period. A younger brother had deserted to the Normans, and aided these invaders in expelling the lawful proprietor. Geoffry D'Orme, a Norman captain, was commissioned to perform this service, but the auxiliary as soon as the conquest was affected, murdered the traitor, and obtained a grant of the district for himself in the year 1080.

The youngest son of Arthur was the only one that escaped the ruin of his family. He retired to the continent. In the ensuing one hundred and fifteen years, his descendants experienced a variety of fortune. He himself went to the Greek capital, and by services rendered to the reigning prince, acquired favour and fortune. He was made governor of an island in the Archipelago, which he ruled with independent authority, and transmitted to his heirs. The last of these was the preserver of Richard, and their pedigree was carefully preserved. This Arthur had lost his new inheritance, and was a volunteer in the christian army in Palestine.

Richard on his return to his own country forgot his vow, but he was at length reminded of it by the appearance of Arthur at his court. He immediately bestowed upon the exile the heiress and estate of Walney, and erected a magnificent abbey, for men and women, which he endowed with the lordship of Orme. Arthur did not choose to become abbot himself, but he put in his stead a kinsman and friend who had been the companion of his life, and the canons of this foundation required that every future abbot and abbess, should be taken from the Carril family. This institution was completed in 1200.

According to tradition, the first apostle of this district was St. Ulpha. She was an Armorican princess, who married the British chief, and converted him and his people to the true faith, about the year 350. After her husband's death, she founded a monastery and retired to it with her nine daughters. This house was situated in the Isle of Holioke, which contains within its precincts the remains of the famous old tree, under which according to tradition, the first christian prince was baptized, and which has ever since been held in religious veneration. This convent continued to subsist, but its demesne had dwindled down to the Isle itself, and the buildings were humble and decayed. A new abbey built and endowed by the first Norman chief rose on its foundations, but St. Ulpha continued to be its patroness, and her legend and divinity still enjoyed the veneration of the monks and nuns. On the restoration of the Carrils, the institution was new modelled, and revived with fresh splendour.

The new institution continued in a flourishing condition till the subversion of religious houses in 1540, a period of 340 years, when the estate was given to the earls of Walney, with all the rights and jurisdictions formerly possessed by the abbots, together with the title of Orme. The abbey became the family mansion of the new proprietors, undergoing various repairs and alterations from time to time, till 1620, when Edmund Carril Orme, the earl then living, took it down, and erected in its place the magnificent mansion now standing.

In planning the new house, a religious observance was paid to the limits and distribution of the ancient abbey. The old foundations were anew built upon, but modern splendour and convenience were studied without regard to old maxims. In the new house, the hospital, the chapel, and the library or college have pretty nearly the same dimensions, shape and situation with these parts of the ancient building.

The library and archives of the old monastery are still carefully preserved in an apartment of the present building. The plan of the ancient church was the solid rock, reduced to a level, and is still the floor of the vaults under the present chapel. The ancient tombs were hollowed by the chissel, out of the solid rock, and covered by slabs; of these slabs, the flooring of the chapel became in time almost entirely composed. Names and figures were engraven on these slabs, and the walls of the chapel were adorned with numerous monuments and arms. The ancient chapel was about fifty feet wide, and one hundred and twenty in length, dimensions that are still preserved in the present vaults, but the ancient pavement has been sunk thirty feet below its ancient level, so that the present height is forty-five feet. In the new pavement has been wrought tombs, corresponding with the ancient ones, in which the ancient coffins are deposited. This apartment is at present no more than a cemetery, and is fitted up in a style peculiarly solemn and romantic. It may be denominated Gothic, but is modelled with very great simplicity. It has all the parts of a Gothic church.

The nunnery and monastery formed somewhat detached parts of the same building. They had each a peculiar chapel. On the scite of the chapel of the nunnery, is erected the

present hall, underneath which there is a vault preserving the shape and dimensions of the old chapel, except as to height : which, at present, is only thirty feet. It forms a middle aisle, twenty feet wide and seventy-five feet long, and two side aisles, ten feet wide.

The last builder of Holioke, before he took down the old structure, had the most exact views and plans, and the most copious descriptions formed of the old building.

The house in town built at the same time, is a mass of building one hundred and seventy-seven feet six inches in length, and one hundred and forty-two feet six inches in greatest breadth. It consists of two principal stories, thirty-two feet in height each, and one basement story, the exterior height of which is twelve feet. The rooms in the basement story were fifteen feet high, and are appropriated to offices and servants. The two upper stories contain rooms thirty feet high, for the use of the family.

In the course of near two centuries, the interior furniture and decorations of this house, have undergone many alterations. In the year 1786, a daughter of this family being on the eve of marriage, this house was allotted for her habitation. For this purpose it underwent a thorough repair ; doors, windows and furniture were entirely renewed, and with a splendour and magnificence, as well as taste and beauty, no where else to be seen. For forty-five years previous it had been the constant residence of lady Mary Carril, a sister of the present earl, who had been left a widow in her youth. After the death of her husband, on whom she doated, she retired to this house, and here she passed the rest of her life, in domestic privacy. She hung her lord's picture in her little chapel, and whether her daily orisons were paid to God or to this image, may be doubted. In the height of her grief for his loss she formed the resolution of never again passing the threshold of this house, and to this resolution she inflexibly adhered. Her only exercise was walking in her garden ; her only employments within door were music, in which she was an eminent proficient ; reading, of which she was very fond, and the superintendence of her family, which consisted of many servants, modelled and disciplined after a manner peculiar to herself. She had few occasional visits, ex-

cept from members of her large family, some one female of whom generally passed a few months in the year.

Having passed much of her youth in France, she contracted a great fondness for that country. Her steward and house-keeper, an honest and venerable pair, were natives of Picardy. The former had been her husband's valet and favourite domestic, the latter was his wife. So great was the lady's attachment to the French language, that her reading was almost entirely confined to it. Her library formed a very large collection of French books, and these consisted almost wholly of memoirs and histories of the age of Henry IV. She had conceived a whimsical preference for the manners and actions of that period, both in France and England, but especially in the former, and her collections were probably more complete and extensive than any elsewhere to be found.

She enjoyed excellent health, with a temper naturally benign, and her life quietly closed on the seventy-first anniversary of her birth, in the chamber out of which she had never passed a night, for forty-five years.

She had been a beautiful, gay, and volatile girl. She had married her cousin, Valentine Orme, a youth as handsome, and debonnaire as herself. This alliance took place when she was eighteen years of age, in the year 1733. She and her husband spent the eight years of her marriage, in all the gayeties of Paris, into which she entered with all imaginable zeal and spirit, not without some imputations on her prudence, but without any on her virtue. Though rash and thoughtless, her virtue and attachment to her husband, were never impeached. Her levity, however, was at length productive of fatal consequences. One evening she and a companion, thoughtless as herself, disguised themselves in male attire, and went to visit a famous conjurer. A young man who had previously made love to her, but whose addresses had been repulsed with scorn and indignation, accidentally met and recognized her in the conjurer's antichamber. He instantly formed a plan in consequence of which, she was decoyed into an obscure house, and suffered every insult but the last, from the resentment of the lover. It appears that he meant not any violence to her per-

son, but merely to revenge by all manner of freedoms of speech, the treatment he had received from her.

The means by which he effected his purpose was this. He had come to the conjurer's on foot, with a brother who was a boy. He had observed the two ladies come out of a fiacre, and in spite of their disguise, recognized them. While they were detained within the house, he made a bargain with their coachman: put his brother into the coach, and taught him the part he was to act. The ladies were tired of their adventure before it was accomplished by a conference with the wizard. They struggled through the croud to reach their coach. By the marquis's contrivance, lady Mary reached the carriage first, and threw herself hastily into it. Here she found the marquis's brother, who seen indistinctly by lamp light, she mistook for her companion. The coach with the marquis behind it drove off, and stopping in a dark and narrow street, the lady was hurried into a strange house. Her terrors were so great, on discovering her situation, that her ravisher became alarmed in his turn, and suffered her after some time to return home. She did not reach her own house before her husband had taken an alarm at her absence. He had set on foot a diligent search after her, but in the midst of his fears and deliberations she arrived. The distress and disorder in which she appeared, required some explanation. This she unwarily gave. Next day the marquis and her husband met, upon a challenge given by the latter. The husband was killed upon the spot, and his opponent mortally wounded.

Lady Mary's companion in this frolic, was in reality in league with the marquis, and had persuaded her unfortunate friend to undertake this rash adventure at his instigation. This discovery by no means blunted the edge of that grief and remorse which this catastrophe awakened in her bosom. Her character now underwent a total change, and the rest of her life was spent in the manner already described.

The direction which her studious disposition took, was owing to the recollection that her husband's favourite book, almost the only one that he read, was the secret history of D'Aubigne. During his life, neither were distinguished by a passion for reading, and D'Aubigne's memoirs had gained Mr. Orme's

attention merely in the leisure occasioned by a fit of sickness. He had sent a servant to an eminent bookseller to purchase the first novel that came to hand, and this was the work brought back. With strong minds and ardent curiosity, this youthful pair had given up their lives to gayety and dissipation, and this volume was now valued by the lady merely as a relic of her husband. The perusal of it, however, naturally excited inquiries which her leisure and seclusion from the world enabled her to gratify, and she thus became a very great proficient in the history and literature of Daubigne's age. This single volume gradually multiplied into a very large library, the formation and study of which became the great solace and amusement of her life. She died without issue.

Lady Mary had a twin sister, Elizabeth. She was naturally of a sober thoughtful turn, and displayed a character and manners so little compatible with her sister's, that there never was much cordiality or intercourse between them.

The Devonshire Ormes had only two representatives, both sons, Valentine and Raymond. There was five years difference in their ages, and in their characters there was a diversity somewhat similar to that which existed between their cousins. Valentine the eldest, was gay and luxurious; Raymond the youngest was grave and serious. The latter being a younger brother, turned his thoughts to a profession; he chose the pulpit, and in due time became rector of Ormesby, an office whose duties he performed with the utmost punctuality. The brother on his accession to his paternal inheritance, married lady Mary, and carried her to Paris, leaving to Raymond the management of the temporal as well as spiritual concerns of his estate.

The Orme family had been for so many years in the habit of intermarrying among themselves, that it became a kind of a law, a fixed obligation to do so. The first violation of this rule, occurring for a century and a half, had taken place with regard to Miss Tenbrook. The husband of Miss Tenbrook, was the only lineal representative of the Cumberland branch, and the Devonshire branch happened to terminate about the same time, in a female. A union between these was claimed by the friends on both sides, a thing of course. It was indeed

particularly recommended by the total union of houses and estates which would have followed a marriage between the heir of one branch and the heiress of the other, in the present case. The young man however thought proper to choose another partner, and the young lady being left mistress of her own conduct by the death of her father Sir Osmond Orme, and her guardian, chose a youth of nameless parentage, whom her father had patronized and educated. In this case however, the breach of hereditary rules was rather nominal than real, for the fortunate youth was suspected, with some reason, to be the nephew of his patron, and consequently cousin to his patron's daughter. His patron had a younger brother, left by their father's will wholly dependant upon him. This brother had mortally offended Sir Osmond by marrying out of the family pale, and a woman of inferior rank. The offender had retired with his wife to a foreign country, and both of them had died in poverty and misery, all applications to Sir Osmond for relief being ineffectual. It is supposed that the exile left an infant child at his death, whom he had ordered his nurse to carry to Sir Osmond with a letter written in his dying hours. Sir Osmond received this letter, provided for the nurture and education of the child, but had never admitted him to the rights of a kinsman; on the contrary, the nurse was directed to call the child her own. The lad accordingly went by her name, which was Walter; proper care was taken of the child's instruction. He received a liberal education, and being of a serious turn, in due season took orders. He was presented with the Rectory of Ormsby, and finally married the heiress of his patron.

Raymond, as we have already said, copied his father's example, assumed the gown, acquired the rectory of Ormesby, married his cousin Elizabeth of Orme, and by the death of his elder brother in 1741, acquired full possession of the title and estate.

This marriage was productive of four children, the youngest of whom was a son born in 1750. The son only lived to reach maturity, and was married to the only daughter of his mother's youngest sister Jane, in 1774. The only fruit of this marriage was a son, born in 1775, and now the heir apparent of the fa-

mily of Orme, all their honours and estates in Cumberland and Devonshire.

Lady Jane Carril was the youngest daughter of earl Vincent and Miss Tenbrook. She had wit and beauty like her sisters, but her destiny was widely different from theirs. Her father was far from desirous that his children should follow his own example in matrimony. His family pride had yielded to his passion in his own choice, but his feelings could not admit a similar excuse for the deviation of his children. His sons gave him no reason for regret or displeasure on this score, for none of them married. His two eldest daughters married agreeably to his wishes, but the younger was not quite so obsequious. Indeed a match equally suitable for her was impossible, since the two Devonshire Ormes were already given to her sisters, and the name was confined to her own family and theirs, and the tie of kindred between them and the rest of mankind was faint and remote. With regard to her therefore, should she marry at all, there seemed to be a necessity of disregarding the established rule. Her father was desirous of avoiding this dilemma by keeping her unmarried altogether. This expedient, her ardent and impetuous character made very hazardous. She loved society and pleasure, and could not be prevented from mixing much with the world. She however remained single to the age of twenty-six, some years after her father's death, when with the reluctant consent of her brothers, she married the son of the count of Florac, in 1746.

The Martils, counts of Florac, were among the oldest and wealthiest nobility of France. This young man was the only heir of the count then living. He had gone early into the army, had distinguished himself greatly in the wars of the times, became colonel of a regiment, and was made prisoner after fighting desperately and receiving many dangerous wounds at the battle of Dettingen. He was brought to England, but was suffered to go at large in the kingdom, till formally exchanged. Between the Ormes and Martils, there had formerly taken place a family alliance, and a sort of kindred or relationship was mutually acknowledged between them. The old count recommended his son to the regard of the Ormes, and they received him among them as a brother. He quickly fell in

love with Jane, who returned his passion, and the approbation of all parties being gained, they were married. She accompanied him to France, and went to reside at Florac. The husband, who was as volatile as he was ardent, soon lost all inducement to make long stays at home. When not in military service, he spent his time chiefly for four or five succeeding years in travelling. During this time, however, his wife bore three children.

In the year 1754, her husband, by the death of his father count of Florac, received a wound in prosecuting an affair of love in Italy. This wound, though not mortal, disabled him ever after from moving without assistance. With an heart soured by this disaster he reluctantly returned to his paternal domain. His temper naturally impatient and irascible was rendered still more infirm by the misery of his present situation, and by a temper in his lady not much unlike his own: they quarrelled, and their dissensions rose at length to such an height, that he treated her with brutal violence. Being a woman of great spirit and address, she formed the resolution of escaping into England. By the aid of two English servants, she finally surmounted every difficulty, and reached England in safety with her two youngest children, a son and a daughter. She was received and protected by her brothers, and would never listen to any terms of reconciliation with her husband, who frequently invited her back, nor gave up his children.

Her two children grew up. The daughter Louisa was married in 1774, to the only son of the Devonshire Ormes, and was happy. The two eldest sons, Philibert and Bertrand, remained with their father. They proved excellent men, but so deep was the resentment of their mother against her husband that she involved in a common malediction all who adhered to him. Her own sons she hated for living amicably with their father, and would not suffer the children she brought with her to have any intercourse with their kinsmen in France.

The old count died in 1761. The sons divided the patrimony between them, and lived in the most affectionate harmony. They had spent their time in improving their estates, and extending happiness to all within their reach. They had frequently visited England, but their mother could never be persuaded

even to see them. They had been affectionately recognized and treated by their uncles.

The third son had been named Lewis, after his father; but the mother's indignation was so strong, that after her escape she changed it to Walter. Indeed, she herself renounced the name of Martil, and resumed that of Carril, as well as bestowed it upon her children.

Philibert and Bertrand were at first friendly to the revolution in 1788, but their sentiments soon changed with events. They remained however, in France, as long as there was safety in a quiet and neutral department. At length they narrowly escaped judicial murder under Robespierre, and took refuge in England, where they still remained (in 1803.) They are between forty-nine and fifty years of age.

Walter was of an innocent and amiable character, but his capacity was so slender that he was overlooked and almost despised by his relations. He was almost wholly without curiosity or ambition, and complied with his mother's whims and caprices through facility and cowardice more than through judgment or principle. She passed her life at a seat in Hampshire, and kept this son constantly by her side. He was brought up in ignorance and idleness, doing nothing but hunting in fine weather, and playing the fiddle in foul. A benign apathy and total indifference to all those objects which engage the desires of ingenious minds were his chief characteristics. Being always treated by his mother as a child, he grew up to the age of twenty-five as helpless as an infant. His uncles had endeavoured ineffectually to tear him away from his mother, and put him into a situation where his faculties might stand a chance of being awakened. She would not let him go. An healthful constitution and a life of idleness naturally disposed him towards the sex, but he had neither sense nor roguery enough to pursue any complicated intrigue. Among the females of the family and neighbourhood there were many who were ready to encourage his advances without subjecting him to any laborious artifices or irksome conditions. The mother's notions on this head were by no means extremely punctilious. Her ideas of the exaltation of her own family were such, that nobody, she thought, was worthy of matrimonial alliance with it who was

not sprung from kings : and no woman of humble rank was degraded even by illicit intimacies with the offspring of a Mar-til and an Orme. The greatest misfortune she dreaded was her son's marrying beneath himself, or so as to produce his separation from her. She saw no other mode of preventing this calamity but by winking at his connections with her own domestics, or with neighbouring cottagers. We may easily imagine how much these maxims of the mother, and this conduct in the son, contributed to narrow his views, and deprave his taste. Yet the lady possessed great abilities and many virtues. In her treatment of her servants and dependants, she was wise and beneficent. Her conversation was rational and brilliant, and her deportment to her neighbours full of obligingness and courtesy. It was only in the relation of wife and mother that she was blameable. Her conduct in these relations, glaring and enormous as it was, her ingenuity found it easy to justify to herself, and to palliate to others.

Walter had never been sent to any school or to college. A few years of his childhood were spent under the care of a domestic tutor, who was sufficiently disposed to perform his duty had the mother permitted. She assumed an equal share of attention to his progress, intermeddled with all the tutor's measures, would not allow him to con a lesson which had not received her previous sanction, and all chiding and punishment was her exclusive province. The tutor was a man of great mildness and forbearance, but his patience would not have sustained so severe a persecution, had he not been bound by contract to this service.

The lady had procured and dismissed no less than four tutors for her son in the course of three years. She either found the preceptor indignant at the controul she assumed, or if compliant and submissive, he was disqualified by indolence or incapacity. After getting rid of the fourth, she almost despaired of supplying his place. She wrote to her brother-in-law of Ormesby to find her, if possible, a new candidate for this arduous office.

The rector of Ormesby had a brother, James Boyle, a man of learning, piety and virtue, who had been educated for the church, but was at this time without provision. He had lately

lost a wife who had died in child birth of her only daughter. The motherless infant had been taken from the parent by the rector of Ormesby, and the father was at this time in search of some means of decent subsistence for himself and his deceased wife's sister, a worthy woman, entirely dependant upon him. He embraced the offer of this tutorship, of which the wages were very liberal. With this stipend he settled his sister-in-law and child in an agreeable abode in Salisbury, and his regard formed his principal inducement for continuing in his new office, notwithstanding its inconveniences.

Lady Jane had penetration enough to discern that the new tutor was more likely to be dissatisfied with her than she with him. She therefore offered him a perpetual annuity of three hundred pounds, provided he would stay with her son seven years. The offer was accepted. The seven years servitude was faithfully performed. At the end of this period, he joined his sister, whom he then married, and enjoyed the leisure and independance he had thus dearly purchased, like a man of true wisdom.

Mr. Boyle had not succeeded in making the lad ambitious or inquisitive, but he extorted from the mother a warm esteem, and from the boy all the affection and gratitude he was capable of feeling. Mr. Boyle was descended of an ancient and respectable family in Wiltshire, who had formerly been proprietors of the very estate which lady Jane occupied. His father had been profligate and improvident, and his estate, being mortgaged to Tenbrook, came afterwards by forfeiture into the hands of his heirs. The two children of the mortgager were taken at his death by a kinsman, a dean of Exeter, and brought up to the church. The eldest brother obtained the living of Ormesby, and the younger was situated as has already been described.

This respectable pedigree, together with manners suitable to it, was no small recommendation to the favour and respect of lady Jane. After the tutor was dismissed, she still continued to value the society of the friend, and Mr. and Mrs. Boyle, together with their daughter, were entertained at Holioke every summer for many years with great cordiality. Meanwhile

Louisa Boyle grew up into a charming and accomplished woman, and lady Jane became remarkably fond of her.

Louisa Martil, notwithstanding all her merits, had never obtained an equal share with her brother in her mother's favour. This partiality being observed by her aunt Elizabeth, and that lady having no daughter of her own, she was the more desirous to get possession of her niece, especially as the family system pointed her out as the only eligible consort of her son. She easily prevailed with the mother to part with her, and very little intercourse ever afterwards took place between them. The aunt's notions on the subject of female education were widely different from the wild, chimerical and dangerous maxims of the mother, and this circumstance made the interval between them still wider.

During the frequent visits of the Boyles at Holioke some intercourse could not fail to take place between the young gentleman and the young lady. The habits of the former, without being vicious or debauched, were so low, and his timidity and disrelish for any thing polite or intellectual were so great, that the fair visitant was regarded with terror and suspicion. He carefully avoided any conversation with her, and found the company of the Kate's and Molly's of the laundry and the cottage far more congenial to his taste. Time seemed only to confirm their mutual dislike and reserve; and the mother was encouraged by these circumstances to solicit the visits of Miss Boyle. There were many points in Miss Boyle's character peculiarly fitted to endear her company to lady Jane, and the conduct of the latter was, in this particular case, equally adapted to excite the esteem and affection of her guest. Hence she became almost a settled resident at Holioke.

So idle a life as Walter led, seconded by youth and health, made love, if his passion for the sex might be called by that name, his chief business. The zest which springs from rarity was necessary to keep his ardours alive, and from the age of eighteen to twenty-five he was engaged in a succession of amours, whose casual difficulties, obstacles, discoveries and revolutions kept his life from stagnation, and gave exercise to all the talents he possessed. During this period, he had been successively connected with six females; all the daughters of his

mother's tenants, whose acquiescence or connivance in the seduction of their children was compensated by substantial benefits and indulgences received from the steward. Hitherto these intrigues had been attended with no tragical or disastrous event, but now an incident occurred of a truly shocking nature. The youth had obtained the favours of a spirited girl, by a series of long attentions and arduous services, but no sooner had he accomplished his end, than as usual his passion abated, and the appearance of a new face in the parish caused him to desert her altogether.

This new face chanced to be connected with an honest mind ; and both the girl and her parents were too proud to listen to his overtures. The youth had hitherto been totally unaccustomed to these obstacles. His indignation, as well as his love, was awakened by such sturdy opposition. His mother was weak enough to enter in some degree, into his resentments, and the honest farmer did not escape some acts of oppression. His clamours at such treatment were loud, and he prepared to remove to another country. The rage of the girl lately deserted, arose to such a pitch that she poisoned her imaginary rival, together with her father and mother.

This horrible catastrophe, including the public trial and execution of the murderer, reflected infinite discredit both on the son and mother. It was considered as the natural consequence of the strange maxims of education which the latter adopted. In this calamity, the company and consolation of Miss Boyle was prized by lady Jane at its true value. The son's passion for the murdered girl was now combined with remorse, and a total change took place in his deportment. He became silent, melancholy, gave up his customary out door amusement, and spent most of his time at home. In this state of things, a little more intercourse took place between him and Miss Boyle. The awe with which the elegance and dignity of her deportment and conversation, had formerly inspired him, was not lessened, but it did not, as formerly, breed dislike or aversion. On the contrary, he began to regard himself and his own deficiencies with contempt and sorrow.

Had these feelings been properly understood and encouraged by the mother, the two females might have possibly wrought a total change in their pupil's character. The youth was remarkably handsome. The influence of that genuine passion which he now began to feel called forth sentiments and wishes whose existence had hitherto been unsuspected. The young lady could hardly fail of being affected by these appearances, and the objections which her judgment might have made to such a partner, might have yielded to the pleadings of affection and of interest. Considering all circumstances, Walter's collateral relations would not have withholden their assent. The mother, however, with her usual perverseness, no sooner suspected the tendency of her son's feelings, than she fell into a rage which knew no bounds. The visitant in consequence, immediately left the house, and her father being dead, returned to live with her mother at Salisbury.

Walter took this separation so much to heart that he fell sick, and the mother frightened at length out of all her scruples, condescended to implore the return of the young lady. Many efforts and many applications were necessary before her reluctance to return was subdued. At length, her delicacy being fully satisfied by the amplest apologies and concessions, she returned, and married the desponding lover.

As soon as the mother's apprehensions about the life of her son were removed, she insensibly relapsed into old habits and prejudices. The son, in like manner, having nothing further to hope, returned to his ancient careless and indolent life. All the late indications of a change in his character, disappeared. His gun and his dog became, once more, his favourite companions. The vulgar charms and awkward coquetry of milk maids began to acquire their customary power over him. Every day disclosed some new blemish in his character, some vulgarity in his sentiments and habits, and the regard of his wife, which might, in different circumstances, have ripened into love, was soon entirely supplanted by indignation and contempt. Her disappointment was heightened by discovering that the sickness, which had frightened his mother, and herself, had been feigned for the purpose, and this discovery, being likewise made by his mother, contributed to

make her tyranny more insupportable. In fine, she thought herself obliged to separate from them both. She returned, with two infant daughters, twins, to her mother. Her mother had a sister who lived in Philadelphia; who had been left a widow and childless, and had for a long time solicited a visit from Mrs. Boyle. This visit was now paid: Mrs. Boyle, her daughter and infants embarked for America, where they arrived in safety.

The countess of Florac had displeased and offended her relations by every part of her conduct. Her marriage with a Frenchman; her quarrel with him, in which they were inclined to attribute at least half the fault to herself; her elopement to England; her obstinate and unappeasible resentment towards the count, her hatred of her own children on account of their adherence to their father: and above all the ruinous system she adopted with regard to Walter, all contributed to alienate her brothers and sisters from her. They had been fortunate enough to wrest her daughter from her, and made several attempts in conjunction with his father, to tear Walter away from her before he should be irretrievably ruined. The poor lady made strenuous opposition to all these attempts, and to keep possession of the boy, cost her innumerable precautions and anxieties.

She was extremely jealous of her independence, would hearken to no brotherly or sisterly admonition or remonstrance, treating them all as impertinent or tyrannical meddlers. They always, however, cherished a sincere desire for her welfare; they contributed to induce Mr. Boyle to accept the office of tutor, and his daughter to marry their nephew. They admitted that she had good reason afterwards to separate; they condoled with her, and offered her and her children an honourable asylum among themselves. When she persisted contrary to their wishes, in going to America, they offered her all the comforts that money could afford, and frequently, when the revolutionary war commenced, solicited her to return.

The fair exile was a character somewhat whimsical. Her attachment to her father's widow was extreme. She followed her, with cheerfulness to the new world. She had suffered so much from the pride of her mother-in-law, and had so much reason

to consider family pride as more or less characteristic of the whole race of the Ormes, that she conceived her own happiness, and that of her children more certainly promoted by a total separation from them. In these sentiments she endeavoured to bring up her daughters, and took every opportunity of instilling into their young minds, a contempt of the pomp, and horror of the servitude connected with rank. Still however, she maintained a friendly correspondence with her uncles, and disdained not the little presents and remembrances they sent her.

This lady died in 1785, eleven years after her exile, and when her daughters were twelve years old, she consigned them to the guardianship of her mother and of Mr. Sale, a respectable citizen of Philadelphia. She left them considerable property, and her dying wish, expressed in a letter written for the use of her daughters when they should arrive at an age suitable for understanding it. This letter contained imperfect allusions to her matrimonial history, exhortations to her daughters to remain forever in their present country; to be satisfied with the patrimony she had left them, nor seek to revive any intercourse with their European relations.

Mrs. Boyle cherished the same sentiments respecting the future destiny of her grand daughters. She was strengthened in these sentiments, by circumstances peculiar to herself. She herself had no personal connection with the Ormes, and every circumstance that should tend to reunite her girls to their paternal stock, would, in some degree, tend to dis sever them from her. She therefore favoured the separation which already existed between them. She returned no answers to the letters which still continued to be written to her.

Walter, after the departure of his wife, sunk into habits still lower than ever. He finally became a sot, and died before his wife, a martyr to maternal folly. The old lady indulged the most extravagant affliction at his death. She had his corpse embalmed and placed in a coffin, which she kept constantly in her chamber. Many other extravagant tokens she gave of her attachment; some of which almost put her intellects into question.

These freaks occupied her time and her imagination for a while. At length, her thoughts turned upon her son's children. To these she imagined she had an unquestionable right, and was determined to exert it.

She had never been made acquainted with the real destiny of her grand children. She was merely assured that they had left the kingdom with their mother. The secret was known to her brothers and sisters, but they very wisely withheld it from her. She made use of many expedients to obtain this desirable information, but all her endeavours were, for a long time, unsuccessful.

Her daughter Louisa resided with her aunt of Orme, Sudleigh, till she and her cousin of that family arrived at a marriageable age, when they were united in 1771. This pair was the only representatives of the Orme family. The two girls in America were equally allied, and consequently became objects of great importance. An importance heightened by the circumstance of this marriage being productive only of two sons who survived their infancy. The American girls naturally occurred as suitable wives for these sons. Mrs. Boyle declining to return any answers to their letters written after her daughter's death, left them in total uncertainty respecting even the existence of the exiles, and several years elapsed without any intercourse between them.

Meanwhile the two Ormes of Sudley, Arthur and Herbert, grew up with all the advantages of education and example. They were considered, especially the eldest, and most worthy, as the heirs of the immense fortunes of their family. They were two virtuous and noble youths, whose sentiments and conduct in all respects gave entire satisfaction to their friends. Their marriage became of course an object of great importance to their friends. The youngest was sufficiently disposed to marry, but the eldest was averse to it. They could not fail to be made early acquainted with the history of their family, and were very desirous of recovering and restoring them to their English relations.

Herbert was of a much more adventurous and roving spirit than his brother. His curiosity led him rather to converse with men than with books. After travelling through Europe, he

obtained leave to visit the new states in America, and determined to find out, if it were possible, his cousins, and persuade them to return with him.

After their mother's death Mary and Eliza continued to reside with their grandmother in the utmost privacy, finding employment and amusement in domestic studies and vocations. Sale, their mother's friend and their own protector, had an only son, a sober and exemplary youth, whom he brought up a merchant. He was extremely anxious to marry this son to one of the daughters, and in April 1796 an engagement took place between this young man and Mary Orme. Immediately after he took a voyage to Holland to settle some business for his father.

In the next month Herbert Orme arrived in Philadelphia. He soon discovered his cousins. He found them eminently beautiful and accomplished, and soon prevailed upon Elizabeth to give him her heart and hand. Mrs. Boyle was obliged to consent to this alliance. She was now old, upwards of sixty, and very infirm. All overtures to return home with her daughters were rejected. Mary was bound to remain where she was till the return of Sale. The old lady was obliged to be contented with the company of Mary, who parted with her beloved sister in the hope of meeting her again, when her grandmother's death, and the arrangements of Sale would permit.

The two sisters had passed all their previous lives together, and this parting was an inexhaustible calamity to both of them. However it took place in October 1796. Eliza and her husband were received with rapture by the Ormes. Holwell was no suitable abode during the life of lady Jane, but the hall in London having become vacant by the death of lady Mary, was prepared for their accommodation. An extensive correspondence was kept up between the sisters, and all the transactions of each party communicated to the other.

Sale's return had been fixed for the beginning of the ensuing year, 1797, but accidents occurred to prolong his absence for many months beyond the assigned period. In October 1797 an accidental interview took place between Mary and Coulthurst, near the country residence of the former, where the lat-

ter had retired to avoid yellow fever. This acquaintance ripened into intimacy, which continued after their return for the winter to the city, in November. This acquaintance was assiduously cultivated during that winter and the ensuing summer. It was interrupted by the return of Sale in September 1798, when his marriage with Mary took place. He remained at home, however, but a few months, sailing to the West Indies in May 1799, where he died in August following.

Mary's marriage with Sale had been dictated by study rather than by inclination. His death left her at liberty at the age of twenty-five, to form a new and more agreeable alliance. Coulthurst was the choice of her heart, but there were many obstacles to the indulgence of this preference.

Lady Jane, at her death in August 1799, at the age of eighty-one, left her estate to her two grand-daughters in America. Just before her death her friends had given her the information respecting the place of their exile, which she had so long sought. By this will Mary and Elizabeth became copartners of three thousand pounds a year, on condition that within four years after her death they both made their appearance in England, before her executors, with sufficient proof of their identity. In case of their death or either of them not appearing as directed, the whole was devised to Jacob Folks, an attorney of Salisbury, who had formerly been her steward.

Holwell was a very noble patrimony of 7000 acres. It had many claims besides its value in a pecuniary point of view, to the affection of the Carril's. It was the only landed property brought into the family by Miss Tenbrook. It was there that she passed a good deal of her time, and where several of her children were born, and passed the delightful hours of infancy. It was the ancient property of the Boyle's, the birth place of these two representatives of the family: its ancient church contained the tombs of their remotest ancestors, and many portraits and literary relicks of them still remained in the library and gallery which belonged to it. All these considerations naturally inspired both the sisters with a strong desire of fulfilling the conditions of their grandmother's will.

The only obstacle to this voyage was Mary's regard for Coulthurst, for the grandmother consented to accompany her to England. To take Coulthurst with her as her husband was forbidden by the terms of the will, which directed that the property of either should expire with her marriage with any but a Carrel, and in such case the whole should go to the other, and her heirs.

Arthur, when he became acquainted with his brother's wife, and was assured that the sister who remained behind, was her equal in mind and person, easily relinquished his aversion to matrimony, and was exceedingly willing to fulfil the wishes of his family in marrying his kinswoman : thus there was a new motive for Elizabeth's desiring her sister's presence, a motive which operated in a contrary direction with respect to Mary.

Elizabeth was informed of the death of Sale, nearly at the same time with the decease of her grandmother. This event which opened a way for Mary's entrance not only into her patrimony, but into her father's family, added new ardour to Elizabeth's importunities for her sister's return.

A servant of Herbert Orme, was commissioned to carry these recalling letters into America, and to accompany Mary to Europe. This person arrived in Philadelphia in November 1799, and having business to transact in the southern states for his master, it was ordered that he should return to Philadelphia in the spring, and from thence, if Mary was willing, embark with her for Europe. She had thus an interval of four or five months in which to make up her resolution.

It was at first agreed between Mary and Coulthurst that the former should return to her sister alone ; and that, after having obtained possession of Holwell, she should endeavour to reconcile her family to her marriage with Coulthurst, and having done this he should follow her. If she could not succeed in this, she was to exert her liberty as a free agent and return to America, or be joined by him in England. Her present little patrimony was sufficient for their frugal maintenance. They afterwards concluded to secure themselves against the possibility of change, by the ceremony of marriage, which was secretly performed. After a while all restraints to their matrimonial intercourse were laid aside, and it was finally determin-

ed that the lady should go to England alone, and that her subsequent conduct as to concealing or avowing her marriage, and staying or returning to America, should be made to depend on circumstances.

She sailed for Liverpool in May 1800. She received a joyful welcome from her sister and friends in England in July following. There was no personal circumstance which compelled her to avow her marriage, and her sister and brother-in-law and Arthur himself to whom the marriage was, after a time, disclosed, persuaded her to conceal it from the rest of her family.

The earl of Orme, the head of this family, was now in his ninety-fifth year. Till within the last three years he had enjoyed extraordinary health and strength, but at that period the latter began rapidly to decline. His limbs became so weak as to be scarcely able to support him, his appetite declined, and every thing threatened a rapid but gradual and painless decay of nature. His mental faculties, however, and his senses, were unimpaired, and he continued in the enjoyment of every intellectual exercise as formerly. In this situation he devolved many of his cares upon his two nephews, on whose vigorous age and excellent character he reflected with extreme satisfaction. The perpetuation of his race by the marriage of his two nephews with his two nieces, was a darling project with him, and the only one that remained to render the inevitable hour pleasant and desirable.

The marriage of Herbert with Elizabeth afforded as high pleasure to the old man as to the parties themselves. The intelligence that Mary was engaged to a native of America, was a source of the deepest vexation. The news of the death of her husband revived all his hopes, and her return to England was solicited by a letter under his own hand, in the most earnest terms. When she returned, she met the most gracious and paternal reception from him, and all her family loaded her with tokens of esteem and affection. Arthur speedily laid himself at her feet, but was, of course, rejected. The cause of this rejection, though deeply regretted by him, did not subdue his generosity. He was still desirous of keeping her in her native country, and persuaded her to make her marriage a secret from

his mother and his uncle, while the latter lived, and till the former could be gradually reconciled to it. These were her motives for remaining in England, and deferring her husband's voyage till the year 1804, when the death of the earl removed the impediment. The new earl, added to her letters his own compliments and invitations, and Coulthurst embarked in August 1804 for England. He had a long voyage of three months, and was shipwrecked on the southern coast of Ireland. The crew and passengers escaped only with their lives, and Coulthurst found his way, with some pecuniary difficulties, from Cork to Liverpool, and thence to London, where he arrived on the 10th of December 1804, exactly seven years and two months after the first interview of Coulthurst and Mary in 1797.

The abbey at Holioke has, properly speaking, never been dissolved. When Henry VIII. granted it to the earls of Walney, he took no further notice of it. The earl, though he followed the temporising fashion, then prevalent, was a good catholic at bottom, and enjoying in his own domain very considerable power, he suffered the abbey to continue unimpaired. They recruited their numbers by tuition, and continued with little visible change in their condition, till the opening of the seventeenth century. At that period, the number of members was much diminished, and the spirit and zeal of those that remained, had from various causes greatly declined. It now became the principal family mansion of the lord, when he remained at Orme.

At the breaking out of the civil wars, Edgar Henry, earl of Orme and Walney, sided with the crown. Orme castle underwent a long siege from the parliamentary forces, and was given up only at the order of the king after his captivity. The earl who commanded in the fortress, stipulated for favourable conditions both for himself and his estate: but the terms of surrender were disregarded by the victors. The earl was carried a prisoner to London, and thrown into the tower, from which, after a rigorous confinement of eighteen months, he effected his escape. His property was sequestered, his castle was demolished with gunpowder; the abbey was burnt to the

ground ; his tenants were pillaged without mercy ; subjected to grievous penalties on account of their religion, for the majority were catholics, or sent into exile. Walney which under the benign auspices of its lords, had been the most flourishing and populous district of England, became, during the next twenty years, a scene of desolation and misery. This uncommon vengeance had been provoked by the formidable and vexatious opposition which the republican cause had always encountered from the earl. No English nobleman had made greater exertions on the king's behalf. The earl's whole revenue had been applied to the equipment and maintenance of troops, which he headed himself. His tenants cheerfully resorted to his standard, and almost all the young men of Orme and Walney had fallen in the course of the war. The Orme men formed a separate regiment, whose ardour, perseverance and courage, were not exceeded by any of their compeers. In the course of five or six campaigns, a body of a thousand hardy youths were reduced to fifty or eighty. Two of these effected the rescue of their lord.

The earl's offences set him beyond the reach of republican mercy ; though indeed he was too high spirited to solicit any favours from the conquerors. During an exile of twenty years, he suffered many evils which a mind less inflexible might without difficulty have avoided. He spent the greatest part of this interval at Venice, disdaining to owe his subsistence to any thing but his own talents and industry.

The restoration of monarchy was the signal of his return to his native country. He was reinstated in all his honours and estates : on visiting Orme, he beheld nothing but desolation and ruin. The two great monuments of the glory and devotion of his ancestors, were level with the ground. The earl was particularly distinguished by his fervent attachment to the religion of his ancestors ; time a long residence in Italy, where nothing but the hope of returning one day to his native country, prevented him from becoming a monk.

St. Ulpha, the divinity of Orme, was of course the object of his religious veneration. He had escaped death, amidst the perils of war, under her protection. He had been preserved, during his exile, from the extremity of suffering, by her intercession. He made a vow, that if ever he were restored

to his estate, he would signalize his gratitude by establishing her convent and her temple. This was a favourite subject of his meditations, and whether it arose from a spirit naturally sanguine, or from his better knowledge of men and things, he always cherished the conviction, that he should one day return. With this view he continually ruminated on the plan he should adopt, in erecting and reorganizing his abbey, and came back to England at the restoration, with his imagination replete with ideas upon this subject. He brought with him Nicolas Rosea, an ingenious architect, Martine, a sculptor of great merit, and Carlo Rota a painter, all Venetians, young men, whom he had accidentally discovered, and rescued from poverty and neglect.

In visiting his estates, he found a treasure, wholly unexpected in possession of Saxby, the vicar of Bootle. This man had obtained permission of the parliamentary agents to take away whatever he pleased from the abbey before it was destroyed. He was at heart an enemy to the victorious cause, but either his policy or timidity made him outwardly compliant with every innovation. This conduct insured him the favour and protection of the government, and this favour he industriously employed for the benefit of the absent lord. All the books and papers of every kind he conveyed to *Bootle cap*, an ancient building near his village, where they reposed in safety, till the earl's return. To him they were then presented, and constituted the most valuable treasure which it was possible for him to receive.

The only claim which the earl made upon the gratitude of the king, was a full and parliamentary confirmation of his paternal rights in Orme and Walney. This claim, with some little difficulty was complied with, and the lordships of Orme and Walney were united and erected into a county palatine, by the name of Orme Norwalk, and granted to the earl and his heirs general, with power to alienate by testament, but not by deed. By this grant confirmed by act of parliament, the earl possesses all regal rights and privileges within these lordships; justice is administered by him and his agents with no appeal but to the king and council. All ecclesiastical, civil and fiscal affairs, are wholly independent of those of Great Britain.

No taxes are levied but by authority of the lord. The people are not represented in the British parliament, and the lord possesses a seat in the house of peers, by virtue only of his title of viscount Sudleigh. The condition of these extensive grants was merely that of rebuilding within fifteen years, the fortress called Orme castle, and keeping constantly within it twenty men, able to bear arms.

This was the condition of the original grant, made by Richard, in consequence of which, Arthur, the first earl of the Carril family, erected on the foundation of the Norman edifice, which he pulled down, one of the noblest military structures of that time known in England. After flourishing as the mansion of the family for nearly three centuries and an half, it was totally subverted by the fury of civil war under Charles I. On visiting his domain in 1661, the earl found nothing but a melancholy ruin. The building had been reduced to fragments, by the force of gun powder, and lay confusedly scattered on the surface. A natural superstition connected the existence and prosperity of the family with the well being of this fortress in a kind of physical sense. The terms of the former and recent grants, had made a political connection between them. As the earl made the re-erection of this edifice a favourite point with him, he willingly consented to a condition which would bind his successors as strongly by political, as he himself was bound by moral considerations to support this edifice. In his plan therefore the solid and the durable were consulted, and to these qualities, where necessary, all other regards were made subordinate. Fifteen years were sufficient to execute the grandest project in building, with the assistance which his riches and authority enabled him to obtain.

Edgar, in his youth, had spent some years in Italy, and had there formed intimate connections with the Roman family of Pamphili. A niece of this family had contracted a passion for this Englishman, which might have terminated in marriage had Edgar's father been willing to deviate from the family custom of allying himself with his own name. The son bowed to paternal authority, and gave up the Italian lady. This sacrifice, indeed, was made not only to filial duty, but to his patriotic sensibility, since, the countenance of the lady's fam

ly was to be obtained only by adopting Italy for his country. He married his cousin of Sudleigh, as his father directed, and this marriage produced three sons and a daughter. There was little affection between husband and wife, and when the civil war commenced, her family siding with the parliament, and the wife preferring the politics of the brother to those of the husband, the discord between them became violent. He suffered her to take refuge with her family, but sent his children into France. She died at Sudleigh, after professing presbyterianism, in 1654. His Italian mistress never lost her regard for him; she continued to live unmarried for his sake, and her father, of whom she was the only child, made new overtures to him on the death of his wife. These, being accompanied with the old conditions, were rejected, notwithstanding the little hope that could, at that time, be reasonably entertained, of his relation to his native country, and notwithstanding the many hardships and privations to which his exile subjected him. His pride, indeed, was such that he obstinately rejected every pecuniary aid which the generosity of the Pamphili made him. All these obstacles, however, were removed by the death of the old count. Henoria Pamphili, now freed from all restraint, obeyed her own inclinations, and gave herself and her estate to the Englishman without conditions in 1659. On the great revolution that happened the year after, the earl sold his wife's property to her uncle for 100,000*l.* sterling; a treasure which he brought entire to England, and which he devoted to the repairing of the devastation made by the recent usurpation in Walney.

There are four apartments next the roof in Orme castle, 12 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 16 feet 8 inches in height, of which one is entirely dark and inaccessible, there being no avenue connected with it, either for light, air, or human footsteps. On every side, around, above and below, it is enclosed with solid stone not less than three feet in thickness. This apartment was probably constructed rather to indulge a capricious fancy than for any reasonable purpose. Some conjectures have been formed concerning it by various members of the family. That it is not an empty room has been inferred from the anxiety displayed by the earl in its construction.

He was present when the last stone was placed over it, and went in alone, before this was done, staying there some time alone.

Another of these rooms has an avenue, the only one, by which it has a long and intricate communication with a closet belonging to the lord's chamber.

A third is lighted from the court by a window ; and is accessible by a narrow stair case.

Ormesey or Ormsey house was formerly the scite of an abbey dedicated to St. Ulpha, and occupied by nuns who were generally called the nuns of Ormsey. This nunnery was founded by the earl of Orme, in the tenth of Henry IV. and peopled by a colony from the monastery in Walney. At the dissolution of religious houses it came into possession of the Carril's, and continued to be their town residence till the usurpation of Cromwell. Earl Edgar's escape from the tower, when under sentence of death, occasioned its destruction, for the mob, impelled by some rumour of his being concealed in this house, attacked, rifled, and burnt it to the ground. At the restoration, the present mansion was built upon the ancient foundations, and continues to be the most spacious, solid, and magnificent structure for private use in the metropolis. In every prospect of London, it forms an object nearly as conspicuous and eminent as St. Paul's and Westminster abbey. It is equally remarkable for its vastness and simplicity, and architecture has seldom produced a monument more calculated for duration.

This mansion has been a favourite object of attention with its owners for a century and an half. They have spared no pains nor cost in improving and adorning it, and its present furniture and embellishments are the accumulated result of the care and wealth of successive generations.

Andrew Pamphili, count of Tarsi, the father of the lady who married earl Edgar, inherited from his ancestors and left to his daughter, a precious collection of sculptures, paintings, and medals. Some time before his death he had planned the building of a palace at Rome, and had provided for this purpose great quantities of marbles, of which some of the finest kind were found at his own estate of Tarsi. This plan was adopted with little variation by his son-in-law for his own house of

Ormsey, and the materials thus provided, were appropriated to the English, instead of the Italian palace.

The count of Tarsi, had large estates both in the Neapolitan and Roman territory. The former he sold, as before said, to his kinsman, and the latter was reserved, by contract for the younger children of this marriage : his honours and estates in England being the property of his children by his first wife. His first marriage had produced three children, one son and two daughters. These, early severed from their rebellious and heretical mother, had been brought up in Italy. They accompanied their father to England. The daughters married suitably to their rank. At forty years of age, the son allied himself to a portionless niece of his mother-in-law, and died ten years afterwards (1680) leaving an infant son. His widow buried herself at St. Ulpha, and left her child to the care of his grandfather.

Four sons of Honoria Pamphili, lived to reach manhood. The eldest became count of Tarsi, the second was a knight of Malta, and passed his life in the military service of the emperor, in which he attained an high rank. The third embraced religion, and died bishop of Ostune. The fourth married a Sicilian heiress, and passed a private inoffensive life at Palermo.

Earl Edgar buried his second wife in 1682. He himself expired January 30 (the anniversary of the death of his friend and benefactor Charles I) 1700, at the age of ninety, more through grief at the disappearance of his grandson, the husband of Miss Tenbrook, than any other cause.

Sir Gerard Orme of Sudleigh, whose sister married earl Edgar, who had abjured the catholic religion and persuaded his sister to do the same ; who had sowed dissention between her and her husband, and encouraged her in her rebellion to his will ; who had distinguished himself as much by his activity and zeal in the republican, as the earl had in the royal cause, was excluded from the amnesty granted at the restoration. The king had resolved on his attainder, and would have granted his forfeited estate to his brother-in-law. Sir Gerard had been once married, but his wife died, and, left an only son, whom the father disowned, because he declined fol-

following the paternal example in a change of religion. His sister's son was consequently his presumptive heir, and the king proposed to anticipate the course of nature by entailing Sudleigh upon him.

The earl instead of profiting by this favourable disposition, prevailed upon the king to pardon Sir Gerard, and restore him to his property. Sir Gerard though a violent and haughty spirit, was not insensible to gratitude and compunction. This treatment converted his ancient rancour into the tenderest veneration. He embraced again the faith of his early years.

Gerard Orme, the son of Sir Gerard, being disowned and proscribed by his father, in the year 1648, withdrew to the continent, sharing with the banished earl, his poverty and patience. Being of a martial and enterprising character, he entered the naval service of Venice. His father being disposed to receive him again with kindness, diligent search was made after him, and he was finally discovered in the habit and employment of a captive slave at Linope, where he had remained unknown and hopeless, for six years. He was redeemed and restored to his country, in 1664, at the age of thirty-two. He married earl Edgar's second daughter, and left behind him in 1689, an only daughter. This girl and her cousin were intended for each other, but the young man, as we have seen married Miss Tenbrook, and the lady chose the rector of Sudleigh.

The life of earl Edgar, was a busy and eventful drama, till the settlement of the kingdom, under Charles the Second. His high rank and the personal favour of Charles I, might have opened the way to honours and offices, had his ambition sought them. But though a member of the council, he kept himself pretty much aloof from the projects and intrigues of the court. His exile had confirmed him in this resolution, and the general rule of conduct, for the remainder of his life, was to be as neutral and inoffensive as possible with respect to the affairs of the nation at large. He saw that his peculiar habits and opinions disabled him from being of any service to his countrymen in general. He therefore willingly devoted all his wishes and exertions to his own patrimony: he fortified and enlarged his claims to his own estates by the amplest royal

and parliamentary grants, and thenceforth studiously demeaned himself as one who was a stranger in England. His counsels when he could not avoid giving them, were always favourable to the religion and liberties of the kingdom. He was regarded with great veneration by James the Second, but he merely employed the favour he enjoyed with that monarch, to dissuade him from the conduct he pursued, and which ended in his ruin. This advice, with his prudence and beneficence in general, insured him the reverence of all parties. The prince of Orange paid him great respect, and his property and honours remained unimpaired by the revolution.

The chief business of the last forty years of his life, was the superintendence of his own concerns in Rutland and Huntly. The functions of prince and landlord he for the most part discharged in his own person. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of his tenants, and his government was altogether paternal.

All the inhabitants of these lordships were, previous to his time, tenants at will. Each parish had a steward and jurat appointed by the lord, and holding their offices at his pleasure. These decided on the life, liberty and property of the tenants, without any limitation, but in certain cases an appeal to the lord. The earl was not satisfied with making a judicious choice of officers, and maintaining a rigid watch upon their conduct. He had the wisdom to impose limitations in his own power. He divided his land into portions, more equal than formerly; he reduced the rent to a somewhat lower sum than had hitherto been given. He abolished all the contributions in kind, and all the personal services with which they had hitherto been burthened. He granted them leases for fifty years, clogged with no conditions but such as were beneficial to themselves, and guarded their privileges from abuse. Their leases were unassignable without the consent of the lord. The tenant's children succeeded him at his death, a choice being made among them by a kind of jury of twelve neighbouring farmers, subject to the decision of the lord. If he died childless, his successors were chosen by this jury among the worthy part of the community. The tenant forfeited his lease by conviction for certain crimes; by the nonpay-

ment of rent for three months after it was due, and by the breach of some other conditions of the grant.

The administration of justice, was carefully new modelled. Instead of a despotic jurisdiction in the jurat, he was now reduced to a ministerial officer; he arrested and imprisoned culprits, but they were judged by a bench of twelve judges, annually selected from the tenants, by the lord. Their decision was only subject to an appeal to the lord.

The land tenants of each parish were bound together into one community by new and powerful ties. Their leases bound them to deposit their names, the births and deaths in their families, with suitable vouchers in the jurat's office. The judges and the candidates for vacant farms were only taken from the actual tenants and their sons. The rector of the parish was in like manner to be born within the precincts of the county, and descended from a tenant.

The tythe was commuted into money, was received with the rent, and payable by the steward. Schools and teachers were provided for the instruction of the people; and their condition in all respects was, in a few years, greatly improved.

The lordships of Huntly and Rutland were each divided into twenty parishes, whose area was upon an average 6500 acres. Five thousand of these was equally divided into one hundred farms. The rent was fixed at half a crown an acre, for the ensuing fifty years, and the rector's dues at ten shillings for each farm. The whole rent of each amounted only to twelve thousand five hundred pounds. The salaries of the steward and jurat were each sixty-two pounds ten shillings a year. The steward, jurat, and vicar had each an house, garden, and field for a cow, rent free.

Each parish had a common or waste of about fifteen hundred acres, which the earl, from a naked and unprofitable heath, converted into an heavy forest. This forest was given to the whole parish, under certain conditions, and for certain uses. The principal use was to supply tenants with fuel and materials for building and tools.

About thirty thousand acres in Huntly, the curate retained in his own hand. They principally formed the park and gardens of Hawkshead and Ulverstone.

The earl entertained very whimsical, and some may think, very sublime notions of property. He conceived that all the money received from his English estates in the form of rent, was held by him merely in trust for the benefit of those who paid it. He was bound, he thought, to disburse it again for their use. His whole revenue therefore was expended in building a church, a schoolhouse, and what he called an asylum in each parish, in repairing the calamities occasioned among his tenants by fire, death, or other accidents. That equality of conditions so desirable in speculation, but in practice so difficult, he laboured with the utmost diligence to preserve, not only preventing any from rising above a certain level, but, by an equitable distribution of his income among the needy and unfortunate, to prevent as much as possible, any from falling below that salutary level.

Till the eldest son of Honoria Pamphili was of age he received the revenues of Tarsi, 20,000 ducats, or 5,000 pounds a year. About four-fifths of this were regularly remitted to England.

The father of earl Edgar possessed the manor of Lodewick, but this he devised to his second son Alfred. Alfred was of a temper melancholy and austere. He shut himself in this retreat, and carefully avoided all connection with the world and its affairs. He amused himself in his chapel and his library, and died in 1683, at eighty years of age. His estate devolved to his brother.

Lodewick is a wild spot in Pembrokeshire. It is a considerable demesne of 10,000 acres, which the earl embellished by a mansion of considerable magnitude. It is very remarkable that Lodewick is inhabited by Saxons, whose language is totally distinct from that of all their neighbours. It is a vale remarkably secluded among hills and rocks, and which is scarcely accessible except by one craggy road. Edgar visited it upon his brother's death, and introduced many alterations and improvements in this little territory. He found the people bound in profound ignorance, but honest, laborious, and thrifty. Their principal support was sheep and cattle, which they reared among the mountains, and sold periodically to the drover. On a scanty harvest of oats, together with cheese and milk they subsisted. The money paid for their cattle and sheep enabled them to

pay their moderate rent, and purchase some of the luxuries and superfluities of life. An hundred and fifty acres of the most fertile land was cultivated by the late owner for the subsistence of his family, while a park, hemmed in by a massy wall, and well stocked with deer, occupied one fourth of the whole territory. An ancient fabric, somewhat in the castle fashion, scarcely afforded shelter to civilized men.

The interior boundary of Lodewick is a large precipice, which tends in a circular direction, seldom less than two hundred feet in height. In one spot the rock slopes so as to afford access by a winding road to the top. From the summit the ground declines inward every way towards the centre, where innumerable rivulets collect into a small lake about half a mile in length and breadth. As the height of this lake is at all seasons uniform, there must be an invisible outlet for the waters. How this upland valley became inhabited by a race of Saxons is a curious problem, which local traditions pretend to solve by relating that Edward the First granted this valley to an hermit of Essex who led hither a colony from some part of England, and founded the convent whose ruins are still visible on the edge of the lake. This monastery subsisted in a great degree on a plan which prevented all manner of intercourse with the rest of mankind. At the dissolution, Henry the Eighth presented it to Mayle, a Flemish merchant, in payment of a debt which the monarch had contracted. He brought his wealth along with him, and built an house, with all suitable appendages, in 1545. It continued in his family till the attainder of Nicholas Mayle for the conspiracy called the gun-powder plot, when it was granted, 1602, to the earls of Orme and Walney, and made an inseparable parcel of the county of the palatine of Orme Norwalk. This gift was sought by the earl at the instigation of his mother, who, tired of the world, was anxious to withdraw from it, and who justly thought that a more absolute seclusion and quiet retreat than this would be sought for in vain in Europe. The son gave it to her for life, and hither she came in 1610.

Catharine, daughter of Henry VII, was born in 1498. At the age of eleven she was betrothed to the prince of Portugal, and was preparing to be sent to that kingdom, when her father

died. When 19 years old (1417) she was married to Henry Carril, earl of Rutland, produced two sons and two daughters, and died 1558, at Wortlepool, in Gloucestershire, a manor given to her brother Henry VIII. She died eleven years after her brother.

Her sons, Edward and Felix were born 1518, and 1520, and her daughters Catharine and Mary within three years after. Mary married the prince of Altimura, in 1544, and Catharine married Sir Herbert Carril Orme of Sudleigh. Edward married Margaret of Florac in France, in 1537. Of six sons two only, Ambrose and Felix, born in 1539 and 1545, lived to reach manhood. Ambrose married his cousin Catharine of Sudleigh, the only child of her mother, in 1577.

Catharine Tudor Carril, countess of Orme, was born in 1545. She was the great grand daughter of Henry VII. Her husband died 1602, and she chose to withdraw, after a busy and eventful life, to the solitudes of Lodewick. She was thirteen years old at the accession of Elizabeth. Till 19 she resided pretty much at court, and then married the earl of Orme. Their religion, their proximity to the crown, their interest in the cause of the Catholics, and especially of the Scottish Mary, subjected them to innumerable dangers during Elizabeth's life.

Her eldest son, Arthur, was born in 1566, and her husband died in 1602, the year before Elizabeth, when she was fifty-seven years old. She lived till 1646, thirty-seven years at Wortlepool, so much estranged from the world and its concerns that she knew not of the civil war and contentions between king and parliament. She left Lodewick to her grand-son Alfred, who adopted her manner of life, and never passed the mountains. By carefully abstaining from any part in the troubles of the time he remained unmolested. His brother paid him a visit in 1661, after a separation of twenty-five years. Alfred died in 1687, at the age of seventy-six, and the estate of Lodewick went to his surviving brother.

Wortlepool was the residence of the countess of Florac, the estate which the daughter of Henry VII. brought into the family, and which the voyage of Mrs. Coulthurst was necessary to retain in the family. It is a parish and manor in Devonshire, of seven thousand acres. It is a rich, fertile and picturesque

domain, adorned by a noble mansion, built for his sister, by Henry VIII, and preserved in a very perfect state till the present time. Many important events in the history of the Ormes' have occurred at this place, and made it memorable. The halls and chambers, the gardens and park have all an air of regal magnificence and grandeur.

Ormesby house in London, Arthursley in Middlesex, with its small demesne of eight hundred acres, Wortlepool and Lodewick are all part and parcel of the county palatine of Walney. Of these Wortlepool is the only portion rendered alienable by the original grant.

When the princess Catharine lost her husband in 1537, she returned to Wortlepool, and died there. It afterwards was successively occupied by the dowagers or unmarried ladies of this family. It became, insensibly, a custom for the single females, especially in advanced life, to make this mansion their asylum. The estate with its inhabitants was exempted from the jurisdiction of the king's officers. All authority, civil, criminal and fiscal, was exercised by the stewards of the earl, or, what usually happened, by the lady tenant of the mansion. The welfare and happiness of the tenants usually depended on the personal character of these ladies.

The estate was left to the countess of Florac by the will of her father, and hence she derived the power of bequeathing it to others.

Wortlepool castle was the first production of that singular designer Albright. This artist was found by the earl of Rutland in an obscure lodging at Nuremberg in Germany, of which city he was a native. His poverty, his enthusiasm, and the ideal symmetry and beauty of his plans, induced the earl to bring him into England. Wortlepool was the first effort of his genius, and the large marriage portion given to the countess by the king, was expended in this mansion. He was subjected therefore to few limitations on the score of expense. This liberality, however, was displayed more on the quantity of materials and the labour expended in modelling and adjusting them, than in the extent of the building or the gorgeousness of its furniture.

Albright built at Wortlepool, a castle with all its offices and appendages, and a church. His gratitude to the earl, who had rescued him from poverty, and had enabled him to marry the woman of his choice, and settled on him a pension without conditions of any sort, induced him to devote his invention and industry entirely to his patron's service. He was anxious for opportunities to exercise his skill in honour of the Carril family, and never worked for others, whatever rewards were offered him, but at the particular request of his patron.

Everard Albright was born of obscure parents in the territory of Nurenburgh, in 1497. His talents for painting and sculpture, showed themselves at a very early age, and obtained, for him, the notice and protection of Araham Rednitz, a painter of that city. This person he accompanied to Flanders and Italy, and pursued with great industry every means of improving himself in his favourite art.

Rednitz died at Bologna of the plague, and left his pupil, as yet scarcely twenty, friendless and penniless. The youth found his way back to his native city, with great difficulty. His master left a daughter, a woman of considerable beauty and merit, of whom the youth became enamoured; but her mother's relations, under whose care she was placed, and who were people of some rank and property, prohibited their intercourse. In this extremity the young earl of Rutland fell in with Albright, relieved his distresses, and aided him in carrying off his mistress to England. The earl was, at that time, on his way to Vienna, with his father, who was the English ambassador to the emperor. On his father's death, which happened in Germany, he returned to England, and found the painter and his wife securely settled at his house in London. From that time 1520, till his death in 1593, at the age of seventy-three, Albright passed his whole time, till incapacitated by age and infirmity, in executing works in painting, sculpture and architecture on his patron's account. His wife brought him several children, but only three grandsons survived him, one of whom, Caspar, inherited his talents for painting. Caspar was born in 1566: he passed his life like his grandfather, in the service of the Carrils, and died, aged eighty nine, in 1655. He left no posterity.

All the works in painting, sculpture and architecture, belonging to the family, and executed from Henry VIII, to the restoration, were done by these two artists and their pupils. Their exertions were chiefly confined to Ormsey, Arthursake, St. Ulpha's castle, abbey and church, Wortlepool castle and church, and Lodewick castle and church. St. Ulpha's castle, Ormsey and Arthursake which they improved and adorned, were destroyed with all their furniture, books and pictures during the civil war. The buildings at Wortlepool and Lodewick remained, together with their furniture and pictures, unimpaired to the present day, except by time. St. Ulpha's did not escape injury, but was less defaced by the zeal and fury of the times than might have been expected.

In sculpture, the elder Albright was equal to any artist of his times. In painting, his exertions were chiefly confined to portraits. Of these, there are still preserved one hundred and nine, including every member of the Carril family who flourished from 1520 till 1580. In sculpture, St. Ulpha's, Wortlepool and Lodewick contain innumerable specimens of his skill in stone, metal, and wood. All the intricate ornaments which enrich the walls of these edifices were designed, and most of them executed by him. Many busts, statues and groupes representing real or ideal persons, and which are valued as masterpieces of the art, are still to be seen at their places. His own sepulchral monument in the church at Wortlepool was among his last performances.

His style of architecture, in particular embellishments, resembled that of the age in which he lived, but in the plans of his building, the formation and distribution of its greater parts, his style was altogether peculiar to himself. The great end which he seems always to have kept in view, was durability. In pursuit of this end little regard was paid to expense. Wood and every other combustible or frail material was very sparingly introduced. He dealt almost entirely in stone, brass and marble, and of these he was prodigal. The stone employed was modelled into masses; the largest that was manageable, was hewn with the greatest nicety, and bound together by ligaments of iron.

Wortlepool contains within a square of 175 feet, a considerable part of which is not occupied with building, upward of twenty-four rooms, from twenty-five to thirty-two feet in diameter, and from forty to forty-five feet in height. It also contains forty-eight rooms, from 16 to 18 feet in diameter, and from twenty to twenty-four feet in height: above 72 considerable rooms in all, besides a considerably greater number of circular closets, from four to six feet wide, and from eight to twelve feet high.

Each of the angular towers is divided into three stories: about forty-eight feet in height. In each story is an octagonal apartment, thirty feet wide. Of these eight sides in each room, two of them are occupied by windows five feet wide. One of them is the door of entrance from the centre of the mansion. Three of them have doors opening into passages two feet six inches wide, and eleven feet high, which lead into turrets, placed at these angles of the tower, where a winding staircase conducts to three upper circular closets five feet wide and eleven high. Each of these octagons, therefore are connected, by these staircases, with twelve spacious closets. The whole number of such closets, therefore, is 144.

To each of the principal rooms in the body of the building, there are connected in like manner, two sets of closets and staircases, four closets in each set: making in all, eight closets to each room, and 96 in the whole.

To each of the forty-eight rooms, of the third rank, there are likewise two closets of similar dimensions annexed: which makes, when added together, 96. So that the whole number of such closets or apartments amounts to 336.

The passage leading to these closets is from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, by $11\frac{1}{4}$ in height. Each closet has a nich or recess, from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width and depth for holding a cabinet of drawers or shelves.

The height of the body of the building is 128 feet: of the four great angular towers 144 feet, and of the twelve small cylindrical turrets 160 feet, exclusive of domes and spires.

There are four principal staircases, which wind round an hollow oval, 15 feet wide and $22\frac{1}{2}$ in length. This oval is lightened by an oval aperture in the roof 10 feet wide and $17\frac{1}{2}$

feet long. This opening is protected by glass. The stair is 27 feet wide, whose exterior edge is supported and protected by open iron work, consisting of slender pillars of that metal.

The floors and ceilings of every apartment, closet, passage and staircase in this building is of fine white free stone; flat or arched wood is now here introduced as a main support. Even the window frames are of brass or iron. For the sake of warmth or elegance, a stone floor or wall is sometimes overlaid with a wooden one. The doors too are generally, though not always, of timber. In some cases they are of iron or brass or bronze, either plain or gilt; of these metals the architect has been astonishingly lavish.

Tis plain, from this account, that this mansion, though none of its apartments are very large, has a vast number of them, and is qualified to accommodate a very numerous family. If employed as a convent or college, there are forty-eight rooms, 15 feet in diameter, which might serve conveniently as dormitories for, at least, the same number of persons. There are twelve rooms which might serve as kitchens, refectories, parlours and the like, and twelve more which might serve as libraries, chapels, auditories and rooms of state.

As a private dwelling, the lower story would amply accommodate a numerous domestic establishment of servants and officers, while the two upper would supply no less than sixteen suits of apartments.

The house has been chiefly occupied as a private dwelling. The princess Catharine, however, intended it to serve the double purpose of a mansion for herself and a convent for nuns. This lady conceived ideas of religion wholly different from those generally adopted. She made a convert of her husband, and had this house constructed after a model peculiar to herself and her architect.

The chapel is at the east end. The interior of it is comprized within a square of eighty feet. The centre of it is formed by a vault resting on four clustered pillars placed at the angles of a square of forty feet. The sides of this square are, severally, arcades, twenty feet in depth. The height of the lateral arcades, as well as of the central vault is eighty-five feet.

The entrance of the chapel from the mansion, is on the western side, under a semicircular gallery, twenty-four feet above the pavement, twenty feet wide and ten deep. This gallery is supported by eight brass columns, one foot in diameter, and forms the choir of the chapel.

On the eastern side, and consequently opposite the choir, and sixty feet distant from it, is a niche answering in shape and dimensions that which contains the choir. The principal altar is placed in the centre of this niche. It is a cylindrical pedestal sustaining a statue of the full size of St. Rhoda, to whom the church is dedicated. The statue and pedestal are of the finest porphyry. The latter is adorned with designs in relief, carved with the greatest elegance, in eight compartments, representing the chief events in the life of the saint. The statue was modelled after the foundress herself. It was originally placed at St. Ulpha's, and was brought hither at the restoration, to supply the place of an image of solid silver, originally placed here, but which fell a prey to republican avarice in 1646.

The altar is five feet in diameter, by three in height. It rests upon a base formed of three steps, of white marble.

The first Catharine became a widow in 1547. Her husband excited the displeasure of the king, by inadvertently dissenting from his theological opinions, and by a spirit which Henry suspected might prove dangerous to his successor. Orders were given to arrest him, and in resisting these orders, the earl was slain. The countess, with her son, a boy, was then at Wortlepool, and there she continued, in a sort of religious seclusion to her death, in 1568.

Her grand daughter Catharine of Sudleigh, lost her mother in her infancy, and resided till nineteen years of age at Wortlepool. One of the last acts of her life was to accomplish the marriage of this girl with her grandson the earl of Orme.

This Catharine was left a widow in 1602, 44 years old, and spent the subsequent years at Wortlepool. Her death in 1650, was chiefly occasioned by that of Charles I. She was succeeded in this mansion by her grandson Alfred, who lived here till 1687. From this time till 1702, it was left to domestics. It then became the dwelling of the earl who married Miss Ten-

brook. Here the family of his first and second wife, chiefly resided till the death of the last survivor of the house in 1755, when the runaway countess of Florac, acquired possession by her father's will, and here he resided till her death in 1799. The twins Mary and Elizabeth were born here.

The apartments of this house have been usually distributed as follows: the whole of the lower story, containing an hall or thoroughfare, a kitchen, a refectory, a steward's room, an house-keeper's room, an office for judicial business with the tenants, another for pecuniary business, twelve bed chambers for domestics; the vault beneath the chapel, used for the celebration of funeral rites; all that die within these walls, being buried in vaults beneath these two rooms for preserving implements and furniture used in interment; three rooms employed as sepulchres, one where the inurned bones of St. Rhoda repose, a second appropriated to the foundress of this house, a third the sepulchre of her grand daughter. There is a fourth room, accessible by a secret avenue, immediately beneath the great altar, entirely dark, and considered as a sanctuary claiming the greatest veneration.

Catharine Tudor was a woman of great learning, fervent piety, and warm imagination. She adopted certain religious tenets, in consequence of certain impressions made upon her fancy during sleep. The figure of St. Rhoda appeared to her in a lively dream, assured her of particular protection, in return for which worship and submission were exacted; directed her to build a temple to her honour, pointed out the spot where her bones were deposited, requiring her to transport them to the shrine to be prepared for her, and communicated the leading principles of true religion and acceptable worship.

The vision was repeated with no material variation, for seven nights, and the feelings and convictions of Catharine were rendered uniform and permanent, by this means.

Catharine had plunged deeply into the theological studies and controversies of the times. Her keen and rigorous understanding was by no means satisfied with the evidence and arguments she met with. She sought for better information by prayer, and her intense devotion and ardent longings terminated in what she deemed the special revelation already mentioned.

She was prevailed upon to marry the earl of Orme, on the secret condition of his adopting her religious sentiments, and allowing her to execute the directions of her dream. Albright was immediately employed in building and adorning Wortlepool. The bones of St. Rhoda were taken from her sepulchre at Holioke, and placed in the apartment already mentioned: her altar and statue were erected in pursuance of the directions of the Saint herself. The dark sanctuary above mentioned, was the scene of an actual monthly conference between this divinity and her worshipper. On a certain night, on the clock's striking twelve, the lady arose from her bed, and proceeded alone to this sanctuary, where she held according to her own belief, personal and waking communion with her patroness. The interview lasted an half hour, and was interruptedly continued during the whole time of her residence here.

As soon as the house was prepared for her reception, she made it her permanent abode. Her husband was at liberty to come and go, but, on no account, would she leave it herself. She formed her family into a kind of convent, whose great duty was the worship of Rhoda according to forms prescribed by herself. She took fifteen companions of her own sex, who made a vow to assist and obey her in quality of matron abbess. Her discretion and seclusion enabled her to escape the tyrannical caprices of her brother. Edward, Mary and Elizabeth suffered her to pursue her own way. She recruited her family from her immediate tenants, and thereby procured domestics and companions exactly to her own taste. She was a wise and beneficent mistress, and was ever considered by her vassals as something above humanity. They adopted the religion she prescribed to them, and their posterity adhere to it at this day.

This religion left abstract doctrinal sentiments concerning Christ and God to the choice of every individual. It merely extended to modes of worship. It prescribed a general reverence for the deity, and particular gratitude to Jesus Christ, but, with regard to these, it taught that no stated forms of worship were due. The worship, which consists of particular observances, festivals, prayers, dresses and gestures were deemed entirely superfluous and absurd so far as these relate

to God and Christ. The sole object of such worship was some human being, already translated to heaven, and exercising a sort of delegated and vicarial power over certain individuals. To the family of Carril, and to the vassals of that family, living within the precincts of Orme, Ulpha, Agnes and Rhoda were the proper objects of worship. With regard to herself and her posterity, and to the inhabitants of Wortlepool, their worship was exclusively due to Rhoda, whose claim to this preference was founded upon actual revelation. She had taken this place and these persons under her peculiar guardianship, and absolved them from the duty of worshipping any other deity.

The worship she exacted was the recital of certain verses, in the Latin language, before her image. This was to be done at the meridian of every day. This image was to be worn in the bosom, and displayed in the house. On Sundays and at four festivals in each year, all who were able were to attend at church, and join in the praises and prayers there addressed to Rhoda; those who could not attend were to recite them at home.

The breviary of this worship was composed by Catharine herself. It consisted of hymns in Metrical Latin, and set to music for the voice and the organ. Vocal music was regularly taught to parishioners who were qualified to learn. A choir was selected from the best behaved and best instructed of these, consisting of either sex, and the whole of religious worship consisted in singing their hymns at prescribed times and places. Conservators of the church, in number twelve, were annually elected by the tenants, and approved by the lady, and by them was the due order in religious matters preserved. Marriage was celebrated in presence of the twelve conservators, and the whole congregation, on the fourth Sunday, monthly through the year; confession, penance, priesthood, baptism, the eucharist, sermons, crucifixes, masses, tapus, and incense, and almost all that distinguishes the Catholic worship were unknown. The protestant would be nearly as little pleased as the Catholic, since the divinity addressed was once a mere mortal, and is now represented by a carved image.

The second story contains a room for convening the whole family on domestic occasions; two refectories for principals; four grand chambers with four closets to each. The four closets consist of a lavatory, a wardrobe, a study and an oratory.

In the third story are also four chambers, each with four closets: three libraries with two closets annexed to each.

The second and third story are likewise occupied by the chapel, which is eighty feet in breadth and width. The four angles of the chapel are rounded into towers fifteen feet in diameter and one hundred and sixty in height. The two easternmost of these turrets have their centres, at the height of forty feet hollowed out into eight small circular apartments five feet in diameter and fifteen high. There is a narrow staircase connected with each tower by which is preserved the communication between these rooms. One of these staircases is connected with a passage which leads through the solid of the chapel wall, to the chamber of the abbess, and downward to the leuitissimus already described.

At the expulsion of Arthur Carril from the Isle in 1070, he wandered over the continent as far as Constantinople. By signal services rendered to the reigning emperor, the recovery of Rhodes from the Saracens, he attained a grant of the feudal sovereignty of that island. Under him and his four immediate successors, the island enjoyed considerable prosperity, but the death of the fourth Arthur left a widowed daughter and an infant grandson to the mercy of a treacherous minister. The grandson with extreme difficulty escaped the snares laid for him, and joining Richard the First of England in Palestine, finally obtained the heiress and isle of Orme. He rescued his mother from the efforts of his enemy in Rhodes, and brought her to England. She became abbess of St. Ulpha's, and acquired, by her extraordinary merits and sanctities, the title and honours of a saint. Her name was Rhoda.

A companion of Rhoda's escape was Alexander Alphas; this person brought away with him the Archives of Rhodes, or the most important part of them. From these he afterwards compiled an history of Rhodes under the Arthurs. He placed it in the library of his convent in the year 1209. It was che-

rished by the monks with the greatest care. The convent was first inhabited by Rhodian exiles, who perpetuated in their successors for several generations the use of the Greek language in their missals and religious services. It became extinct about the beginning of the fourteenth century. A translation was made of the Rhodian chronicle into Latin in the year 1278, by Edred, then abbot. Edred, in his poem, relates that ten years before his time the Rhodian archives were destroyed by a fire which broke out in the convent, and that the chronicle of Ulpha's happened to escape by having been lent the day before to the lord, who wanted some amusement in a fit of sickness. Greek, he says, being almost supplanted by the Latin in his convent, he thought proper to translate it, that the monks might consult it with more ease. When the abbey was taken and plundered in the civil wars 1640, some part of the library was preserved in the manner already mentioned. These relics were replaced at the restoration of the abbey 1665, and a catalogue drawn up at that time mentions among others the Rhodian chronicle of Ulpha's in Latin. In 1723, Simon Tuild, dean of St. Ulpha, was employed to examine and arrange all the monuments extant of this family, and to compile an history of the house of Carril. He accordingly thoroughly examined libraries and cabinets: arranged and printed at the Palatine press, all the records discovered, and then compiled a copious history from these materials. The Rhodian chronicle is contained in this collection, and its information is detailed in the history. The original manuscript is still preserved at the abbey. It appears to be a copy made in the year 1480, and its accuracy is attested by the signatures of several members of the convent, appointed by the abbot to compare it with the original.

A chronicle still extant, of the same age with the last and only copy of the "*Liber Rhodeanus*," relates the history of the convent, which the historian pretends to have collected from the contents of the conventical library at that time. According to him, the first apostle of the island was St. Ulpha, a female who inherited the sovereignty of the island from her father Tutus. Her uncle, instigated by ambition, had her kidnapped and sold to traders, who carried her a captive to Rome,

about the year 400. She there became the slave of a Roman nobleman, called Marcus Vitreus : but her wisdom and beauty soon obtained for her her liberty, and made her the nurse of her former master. The death of her husband left her mistress of great wealth, all which she voluntarily abandoned for the sake of raising her countrymen of Tutesell from the barbarism and infidelity in which they were involved. She accordingly returned to the island, and her uncle being dead, was readily acknowledged as the lawful successor. She speedily converted her subjects to Christ, and died in this abbey, founded by herself, in 454. Her descendants, for she brought a son with her from Rome, governed the island till 640, when the Northumbrian Saxons invaded and subdued it. The conqueror was Edgar, a pagan Saxon, who was converted by a miracle wrought on the shrine of Ulpha, and sanctified his conquest by marrying the heiress of the native princess. The island henceforth became Saxon, and continued in possession of the descendants of Edgar, till 1070, when Geoffry Martil, count of Florac, a companion of the conqueror, whose posterity held it till 1200, when Arthur Carril, lineally descended from Ulpha and Edgar, regained possession by the grant of Richard I, and marriage of the heiress of Geoffry Martil.

The historians of the island relate that Ulpha was the mother of a line of ten princes, of whom the great Arthur was one. From the accession of Edgar till the Norman conquest there reigned twenty-one kings of Tutesell. Of Rhodian princes there were four of this family ; and from 1200 to the present time there have been thirty earls of Orme and Walney.

No family has made a more conspicuous and illustrious figure in British annals than this. The heir of it has, on several occasions, been allied to the royal family. Their rank has always been considered as that of a sovereign house, and as superior to that of the rest of the nobility. The second earl of Orme acquired kingly power, and maintained it for several years, under Henry III. On his death, and the banishment and attainder of his sons, his next brother succeeded to the island. He had previously been abbot of St. Ulpha's and bishop of St. Orme, but in consequence of succeeding to the earldom, was secularized and obtained a dispensation to marry. The

wife of the second earl, who was daughter of king John and sister to Henry, died at St. Ulpha's abbey in 1296. The earl's body was delivered to his brother, and buried at St. Ulpha's.

During the earl's prosperity there were none of the nobles so rich as he. The whole county of Leicester was bestowed upon him by king Henry III, as a feudal sovereignty. Besides this and his little insular kingdom, he possessed two castles with land around them in different parts of England. All these were forfeited at his death, and nothing but the island was left to his brother.

The second earl's wife being the eldest daughter of king John, and himself being lineally descended from Edgar Atheling, by the marriage of Geoffry Martil, first lord of Orme under the Normans, with Edgar's only child, many entertained very favourable sentiments of his right to the kingdom. Having acquired the real sovereignty, he willingly forewent the name of king. The Saxon part of the community always secretly recognized his title: the Normans were of course averse to it: but had Henry had no son, or had his son been of a different character from that of Edward I, there is little doubt of his success. This was the true source of his popularity. The people considered him as martyrs do their liberties, and their veneration increased in spite of the oppression of the pope and clergy. The worship paid to him could only be checked and suppressed by strenuous efforts of the government; but though it was extinguished in England, it could not be suppressed in Tutesell, where his name was ranked as a divinity with Arthur, Ulpha and Rhoda.

Anglesey has always been inhabited by a race whom their peculiar dialect, manners and religion, as well as their insular situation, have separated from the rest of the kingdom. They have never been conquered, since their governors always obtained the sanction of lawful hereditary right, by descent from or marriage with the heirs of the primitive lords. They have ever had but little intercourse, except that of trade with the neighbouring coasts. For a thousand years have they been blended into one mass by marriage and conversation, and there is a shape, physiognomy and moral character, as well as a language and law, by which they are obviously distinguished

from their neighbours, and compacted as it were into one body.

In ecclesiastical as well as civil officers, the isle has been independent of the rest of the world. Neither the claims of the pope, nor of the English prelates to superiority, have ever been quietly acknowledged. Unlucky circumstances, the folly, facility or superstition of the lords or bishops, have on some occasions, yielded to papal and prelatical encroachments, but these have prevailed only for a time. Much disturbance and confusion have been sometimes excited by these claims. Papal usurpation was finally terminated by the reformation in the sixteenth century, since which the ecclesiastical independence of the island has never been molested, except during the republican triumphs, in the time of Charles II.

The island is divided into thirty rectories. Some of these are further divided into subrectories. This has been the case, where the village whose inhabitants originally composed a congregation of the due size, has swelled into a town, and required more than one chapel.

There are five convents of men and five of women. At the head of these is the abbey of St. Ulpha, the head or abbot of which is likewise bishop of Orme. This abbey is also a college, in which every rector and subrector must take his degree, and be qualified, by due examination, for his office.

The monks and canons of St. Ulpha, are, in number, thirty. The vacancies in this body are supplied by their own election: the concurrence of twenty being necessary to every choice. The candidates must be natives of the isle, between forty and fifty years of age; must have passed a probation of fifteen years in their college; must devote themselves to celibacy, and never leave the isle; may lose their place by resignation, provided it be unanimously accepted by canons and bishops, by breach of conventual rules, provided the sentence be in like manner unanimous. They choose, twenty concurring, their bishop, or abbot, who appoints, with the approbation of the majority, all the rectors, from persons under forty and above thirty, natives of the isle; and duly qualified by an education of ten years at the college, and a degree. No canon can be rector or sub-

rector, but the latter may become canons. The lord has a negative upon the choice of bishops, canons and rectors.

The life and conduct of the rectors and subrectors, are amenable to synods, consisting of rectors, canons and bishops, who meet in the cathedral, semi annually. These likewise form rules and orders for the church.

The East riding of York wants little of being an Island. The Derwent, the Humber and the sea, embrace it on all sides. The former takes its rise within a few miles of the sea shore, and after a sinuous course of about 80 miles, joins the Humber, forming its present boundary on the North and West. It formerly included a tract of very rich land, about fifty thousand acres, called Reeveland, situated between the Derwent and Ouze, and near their confluence, which was the property by marriage of the Carrils. The late earl sold the whole for twenty pounds an acre. It was a level piece of ground, whose fertility is exceeded by no district in the kingdom. At the restoration it was, notwithstanding its value, nearly desolate, but earl Edgar invited improvers, by granting it on leases of sixty years, at the inconsiderable price of one shilling an acre. A few public spirited farmers, by repairing breaches in the embankment of the Ouze, by which the whole had been inundated, and by new and suitable drains, set an example which many others followed. By this means, it was soon converted into a most productive and valuable body of meadow. The leases expiring about the time when his great grandson assumed the management of his father's estate, he seized the opportunity offered of selling it. The tenants, whose ancestors had grown rich upon it, eagerly became the purchasers. The true annual value of this ground did not fall short of thirty shillings an acre, so that the price he set upon it, twenty pounds an acre, or $13\frac{1}{3}$ years purchase, was extremely cheap: yet it produced a million sterling, the whole paid by instalments in ten years.

Of this immense sum, half was loaned to government, and the produce, 25,000 per ann. was employed in the exclusive improvement of Anglesey. The lands in the Isle, in the hands of others, amounted to 120 acres; the annual value of

which was about 26, and the gross value, at 20 years purchase, 200%. 300% therefore was sufficient to purchase 120 acres. The interest of the residue, 35,000 a year, was employed in the improvement of the property thus acquired.

The isle of Jersey was originally part of the dutchy of Normandy, and the patrimony of Hugh Martil, the companion of the conqueror. It remained in his descendants till his only daughter and heiress, Isabella de Martil, was given by Henry the Fifth in marriage to a Carril, in 1420. The new proprietor confirmed and enlarged the privileges of its inhabitants. They have immemorilaly enjoyed a kind of republican independance, the right of being governed by their own customs, administered by officers elected by themselves. One jurat, and five subjurats, the first of whom is appointed by the lord, for life, from among the latter, who are elected by the people of each parish every five years, distribute justice. Each parish has a priest chosen by the people, and some other officers.

Till the present century, the priest derived his subsistence from fees due on baptisms, marriages and burials, and from a sort of tythe on the oats produced. The whole value was extremely small; from about fifteen to twenty pounds a year.

The jurats and subjurats profits consisted of fines imposed upon certain offences, and of the costs in civil suits. From these the former was able to extract about one hundred pounds a year, and the latter about thirty. As they are free from all national taxes and customs, commodities are cheap, and provisions plentiful.

The ground is considered as the lord's property, of which twenty thousand acres are divided into five hundred farms (forty acres each) of the residue about half is a waste or common, extending over the cold bleak hills in the middle of the isle: the other half is the homestead or demesne of the lord. The farm land paid a rent of four shillings an acre; but the tenant holds the land to him and his heirs within the third degree. The non payment of rent for a year after it is due, the failure of heirs and the commission of certain crimes restores it. The lord however is bound immediately to confer it on the same terms, on some native of the parish. All males, not engaged in agriculture as farmers, between twenty-five and

fifty, pay to the lord a capitation of twenty shillings a year. These are the outlines of the constitution of Jersey at the accession of the present lord.

The whole revenue from land was about four thousand pounds; from the capitation about two hundred and fifty pounds. The latter sum paid the steward and his officers, and the former was regularly remitted to London in bills of exchange.

Till 1720, this isle was almost totally rejected and unvisited by its proprietors. The nomination of jurats and stewards; some acts of supreme legal jurisdiction, and an acknowledgment of the receipt of bills were generally the only circumstances in which the character and power of the landlord was displayed. The spirit of the government both in fiscal and judicial matters depended entirely on the spirit of those customs which time has converted into laws, and on the character and habits of the officers.

At this period the indefatigable Arthur visited it in person: traversed every part of the island, conversed with individuals of all classes, inspected their condition with his own eyes, and obtained from the priests and jurats, accurate and full amounts of all things necessary to be known. After thoroughly digesting and considering these particulars, he introduced various alterations and improvements. His measures greatly restrained the manufacture and consumption of spirituous liquors: introduced an improved agriculture; abolished all fees payable to the clergy and the jurats, substituting ample stipends in their stead, payable from his own coffers, and in fine secured the welfare of the people by many wise and salutary institutions. To those changes to which his own legal power was unequal, he obtained the popular consent by collecting the clergy and chief people of the island into a kind of national assembly. A whole year was passed by him within the island, engaged assiduously in these arrangements; and in subsequent years, he occasionally visited it in order to inspect the operation of his plans.

The island has extensive quarries of salt; and of white, black and gray marble, of a grain little inferior to the best Italian. It has likewise excellent coal and iron. An extensive manufactory of iron was established by which the island was abundantly supplied with that article, and some profitable ma-

nufacture of hardware adopted. The marble has been for some centuries in use in the edifices constructed by this family, but earl Arthur created a demand and sale for it to an extent extremely advantageous to the island. Contractors for these works were easily found, on the favourable terms allowed them by the lord, and they furnish a regular subsistence to an hundred families, at twenty pounds a piece; a rent to the landlord of five hundred pounds a year, and a profit to the undertakers of one thousand.

The trade of the island consists in salt, coals, bar iron and red marble, each of these articles is raised, and sold within the island or exported by a company who rent the several pits, mines and quarries of the lord. The whole sum paid in wages is about four thousand pounds a year to two hundred persons. An annual profit of four thousand pounds is divided by twenty proprietors, and one thousand is paid in rent. Thus the lord's fixed revenue became five thousand pounds a year.

The area of Jersey is about fifty square miles: of Guernsey about thirty: of Alderney five: of Sark four, and of Herm one. With each of the four last there is one or two isles connected, containing from one to fifty acres. These islands consist of three principal groups, whose relative position may be considered as forming the points of a triangle whose sides are about thirty miles long, and whose base, the extremities of which are Alderney and Jersey, is about forty miles in length.

They lie in the gulf, or bay, formed by the coasts of Brittany and Normandy. Jersey is placed in the midst of this bay, nearly at an equal distance, about thirty miles from its bottom and sides. Alderney is separated from the French coast by a strait about twelve miles wide. It is somewhat surprising that these islands, incorporated as it were by their position with France, should have been politically disunited from it for near four hundred years. It is not surprising, however, that their inhabitants should retain the language and religion of the neighbouring kingdom, and that they should not form an integral part of the British empire.

The political constitution of all these islands is nearly the same. The land is held at an immutable rent, of the earls of Rutland, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction divided between

officers of their own election, and of his appointment. The area of these islands is about ninety square miles, or fifty-eight thousand acres. The whole population is about ten thousand persons.

“The principal edifices in these islands were erected by Ambrose, earl of Rutland, who was banished hither by queen Elizabeth. He was obliged to resign all his English estates to his son, and was allowed to retain this portion of his territory on condition of his never setting foot in Great Britain. He retired hither, accordingly, in 1582, and his restless spirit found sufficient occupation in erecting the fortresses which now remain on the principal isles, and in administering the government in person till his death, twenty years after. His wife refused to follow him hither, and passed the remnant of her days at Worlepool. He governed his vassals with justice, not untinctured with severity : conducted himself as one wholly independent of England, and maintained the post and state of a sovereign prince. He brought with him a considerable treasure, and increased it by sending vessels to trade and pillage in the Indian and American seas. His presence and projects produced great effects on the condition of the islands and their inhabitants.

“Though upwards of sixty years of age, he persuaded Catharine de Brissac, a young lady of high birth, to elope with him from Paris, and retire with him to this island. In a short time she brought him a son and daughter, and repenting her conduct, endeavoured to escape to France. The discovery of her purpose exposed her to the resentment and jealousy of her seducer, who imprisoned her in a fortress in Sark, from the walls of which she threw herself in despair, and was dashed in pieces.

“The earl ascribing her discontent to the machinations of her family, and having narrowly escaped assassination by one of her brothers, gratified his vengeance by stealing away her only remaining sister, and killing her brother who endeavoured to rescue her from his attempts. The lady he prevailed upon to live contented with her destiny, and even to become enamoured of him. She had no children, and died of a fever caught in an excursion on the water in 1592. The earl sincerely lamented

her death, and was touched with such remorse for past misconduct that he thenceforth became as remarkably serious and devout as he had previously been gay and insolent. He did not intermit his attention to the affairs of his estate, but he subjected himself to certain rigorous penances and privations.

“Catharine de Brissac had been three months a prisoner, when in despair, she caused her own death. One week in every year, the earl condemned himself to pass in the tower in which she had been confined, without attendants, without bed, and almost without food. Three hours each day in this week, he passed upon his knees, in tears and supplication, in a small chapel which belonged to it. He thus endeavoured to atone, not only for the wrongs done to his unfortunate mistress, but for the hypocrisy and irreligion of his early life. He wrote conciliatory letters to the countess, and obtained her forgiveness for offences committed against her. His own constitution was unimpaired by the irregularities, hardships and excesses of his youth, or by the austerities and penances to which he condemned himself in old age. A religious melancholy which preyed upon his mind, gradually infected his body, and he died without pain or struggle in his eighty-second year, and was buried according to his own directions, in the same tomb with the two ladies he had seduced.

“His natural children Francis and Catharine, had been sent while infants, into Italy. A kinswoman of their mother who lived in retirement at Florence, consented to take charge of them. An evil star appeared to reign with uninterrupted sway over their destiny. The guilty circumstances of their birth appeared to have entailed a curse upon them from which they never could escape.

“Ambrose Carril, was the celebrated favourite of Elizabeth. That mystery in which his connections with that queen are involved in the histories of the times, is in a great degree, removed by the records in possession of this family. These acquaint us that a commerce of love actually subsisted between the queen and her favourite.

“The estates of this family are found in many parts of England besides Rutland and Huntley. It is more remarkable of

them than of any other family, that chance or discretion has uniformly augmented their estates since the beginning. The immense personal property of Tenbrook, devolved by his will on the eldest of his grandsons, and was entirely devoted by him to improving Athelney.

“Arundel in Sussex, Conway in Wales, and Berkley in Gloucestershire, are all surrounded by extensive domains. The facility or generosity of earl Florace, however, prevented him from making the most of these portions of his property. He let them out, not only at very low rents, but on long terms of seventy-five years. He had no avarice, no taste for the arduous cares either of a steward or a governor, and in relation to his property, generally chose that mode of proceeding, which gave him least trouble, and required least thought. His superfluous revenue, he expended in building the sumptuous castles to be found at these places, in adorning them with all the productions of the arts, and in converting the grounds in their immediate vicinity into a terrestrial paradise. The ancient and proper patrimonial possessions of his family, he almost wholly neglected ; visited them with great reluctance, and only when absolutely necessary. The great passion of his life attached him to these three places. In the course of twenty years, he finished the extensive gardens and magnificent castles belonging to them, at the expense of 600,000 pounds.

“The Berkley estate contained eight thousand acres, of which three thousand five hundred were included in the park. The Conway, 16,000 acres, 10,000 being park. Of the whole, 13,500 were in the hands of tenants, and produced only about 3000*l.* a year. He gave up all the rest of his estate to his eldest son, when only eighteen years of age, in some degree entailing to that son the future fortunes and destiny of the rest of his children. He reserved to himself an income from the fund of 100 per ann. on which he passed the rest of his life, and secured the affluence and comforts of the family of his second wife. By her he had no children. This income, together with the three manors above mentioned, he left to his widow and her sisters, with the remainder, first to the survivors and survivor of them in succession, and then to his three daugh-

ters, one of them to each, with three thousand pounds annual income, from his estate in the stocks.

“Earl Vincent was born in 1678. He married Miss Tenbrook in 1701. His wife died thirteen years afterwards (1714.) The next year he married Julia Caloni, who left him a widow-er (by her) childless, in 1730. He himself died in 1743. The last of the Caloni sisters expired at Conway, seventy-seven years old (1772.)

“Till this period, according to earl Vincent’s will, these three manors could not revert to the Rutland family. When lady Jane eloped from her husband, and came pennyless to England, the order of time was voluntarily anticipated by the Caloni ladies, and they put her in immediate possession of Cleves, and of 50,000*l.* this being the estate, and the proportion of money, to which she was entitled only in remainder, after the close of all their lives. They would have done the same to Mary, when in her widowhood, she returned to settle in England, but she would not permit it.

“After her grandfather’s death, earl Vincent resided at Arthursake, till Conway was habitable. He then removed his family hither, and this became his settled and principal abode, and that of his widow and her family for upward of sixty years. After the death of Laura Caloni, in 1772, it devolved to Mary Carril. She never visited it, but took care that the domestics and furniture of the last possessor, should, according to her last wishes, be properly taken care of. The house and grounds were kept in perfect order. At the death of Mary (1786) it devolved to the earl.

“Conway castle is an edifice of three stories, constructed of massy blocks of Jersey marble, and rising from a rocky eminence to the height of 130 feet, exclusive of turrets and pinnacles. Like Cleves and Arundel, it is planned with the greatest art, and finished in a style which shows that labour and expense were wholly disregarded by the builder. Beside a great display of the excellencies of the chissel and pencil, of which the building itself has afforded the immediate occasion, it contains a great number of the most precious monuments of ancient and foreign art. The same praise may indeed be con-

ferred on Cleves and Arundel, but not quite in so liberal a measure as on Conway.

“ Earl Vincent had the merit and pleasure of the whole plan and contrivance of these three buildings. They afforded occupation and amusement to all his hours, and his plans were of such a nature, that they never could be entirely completed. If we could overlook the pleasure afforded by invention, we might reasonably wonder why this man could not be satisfied with the numerous residences, truly royal, which he already possessed in his palatine estates, and most of which were considerably more extensive than these.

“ Earl Edgar erected and endowed three colleges, one in Rutland, one in Huntley, and one at Oxford. The two former were seminaries, from the members of which the latter was supplied with pupils and fellows. The district or lordship of Cleves in Yorkshire, he bestowed upon the hall of Oxford. The revenues of this district for ten years together, he employed in erecting and finishing the edifice, and then invested the fraternity with the fee simple of the land.

“ Cleves was the property of earl Edgar’s mother. It was a noble patrimony, consisting of upwards of 20,000 acres, divided into three parishes. He regulated this district in the same manner with Rutland and Orme, dividing it into lands of fifty farms, granting these in perpetuity at a fixed rent of ten shillings an acre, and securing a stipend of 100*l.* a year to each rector. The revenue hence accruing was vested in the warden and fellows of Cleves hall.

“ The rules of this college were drawn up and carefully digested by the earl himself.

“ Walter Carril, the first of that name, earl of Orme, married Philippa, the daughter of Arthur, duke of Brittany, in 1309. Arthur was succeeded by his eldest son, John the third. Walter and Philippa left a son, Walter the second, born 1310. The count of Ponthieve, younger brother of John, left a daughter. John chose for his successor, the daughter of his brother, in preference to the son of his sister, and married her to Charles de Blois. After John’s death, a cavil ensued between the two claimants in 1341, which, after twenty-three

years continuance, ended in 1364, in the full establishment of Walter, the third earl of Orme, in this dutchy. This Walter died in 1380, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom his will left duke of Brittany, while the youngest Arthur acquired the English estates and honours. Henceforth this great family was divided into two branches, that of England and Brittany.

“The Carrils continued in possession of Brittany, in lineal male descendants for seven generations, till 1491, when the marriage of Ann, eldest daughter and heiress of the last duke, with Charles VIII, king of France was solemnized. The duke’s younger daughter Isabella, was married to the earl of Orme, in 1487, and thus in some sort re-united the two branches.

“The history of Brittany, during this period of 150 years, forms a part of the history of the Carril family. The greatest harmony subsisted between the two branches, and frequent intermarriages took place between them. In more than one instance, a daughter of Brittany became countess of Orme, and a daughter of Orme became dutchess of Brittany. Ann the last dutchess, was daughter of an Orme, and Isabella was first cousin to her husband. This connection always reflected great lustre and credit on the English earls, and was, on many occasions of eminent service to them. In every disaster, Brittany was a sure place of refuge to them, and aid and mediation were frequently supplied by its dukes.

“Brittany was, in many respects, one of the most singular states in Christendom. It was compact, insulated from the neighbouring provinces by many peculiar institutions, as well as by language. Its people are at this day descendants of the aborigines of the country, and may be said to have never been conquered. In the wreck of the Roman Empire, the descendants of its ancient chieftains acquired sovereignty and independence, and their posterity continued in possession of it, amidst all the shocks and revolutions occasioned by the Goths, Franks and Normans, till the fifteenth century. Geoffry Martil who accompanied the conqueror, and was first earl of Orme and Athelney, was a younger son of the then duke of Brittany.

In the following pages on the subject of the Carrils, the author has altered his plan in several particulars from the foregoing. He approaches his Utopian land, but is undetermined whether it shall be the dutchy of Taranto or the island of Sardinia. Those sketches must all be considered as introductory to his favourite prospect of a perfect system of government.

“The honours of this family are denoted by their titles of duke of Bevern and Brittany, marquis of Irnside, and earl of Jersey, Athelney and Rhodes. The act which confers these honours ordains that the four last shall also be enjoyed by the four elder sons in succession respectively. In other cases, the titles enjoyed by the children of peers during the life of their fathers, are little more than nominal. In this case all the privileges and immunities of peers, accompany the possession of the above titles, as soon as the possessors reach majority. They may be said to inherit these titles from their ancestor, but the privileges of peers they hold for their own lives and that of their father, duke of Bev. and Br. With respect to property they are wholly dependant on their father.

“There are thirteen incorporated towns or burroughs in Bevernshire. They all of them owe their existence as bodies politick to the grants of their ancient dukes, whose charters, still extant and valid, form the outline of their respective constitutions. Before the act of Henry VIII. they formed, together with the duke, the bishop of Beverley, his twelve deans, and two representatives of the country at large, a sort of independent, provincial parliament, by which almost all local and legislative functions were performed. This body was dissolved by the above mentioned act, and its members, except the twelve deans of Beverley, were declared component parts of the great national parliament. The bishop sits in the house of peers, in the same character with other bishops, the two representatives of each borough, and the two knights of the shire, are members of the house of commons.

“The bishop is nominated by the duke. The boroughs are governed each by twelve elders, who are chosen octen-

nially by themselves, from among those householders who have been, for a year, resident within their jurisdiction, and above thirty years of age, provided the choice be made by nine out of the twelve, and be approved by the lord. They may continue themselves in office no longer than for two terms. By these elders or an actual majority of them are chosen representatives in parliament, from among their own members or from any other class or district, provided their choice is approved by the lord, and the candidate is qualified in the manner prescribed by act of parliament.

“ The knights of the Shire are chosen by such as possess the freehold of 100 acres of land within the same, and must also be approved by the lord, as well as qualified according to the statutes.

“ It is evident, that, according to this system, the lord is invested with despotic power, in appointing representatives. The influence exercised by individuals over counties and burroughs, is generally sinister, precarious and indirect, but here it is direct, absolute and constitutional. Having thus the appointment of no less than twenty-eight, or, including Rutland, of 30 members of the house of commons, the duke cannot fail to be regarded with extraordinary respect by the king and his ministers. His parliamentary influence in the lower house would, in many of the contests of faction, be irresistible. Hence, by adverse parties, he has often been revered as one capable of determining the balance.

“ A power, thus important to the general welfare, affords great scope for the exercise of wisdom and virtue. The present duke has shewn the excellence of his principles in nothing more than the moderate and judicious use which he has made of this influence. He has not been guided, either by avarice or ambition, he has not meanly condescended to become the tool of any minister or faction, or made his prerogatives a ladder to pensions, offices or contracts, either for himself, his dependants or his flatterers. He has chosen the path which, to his unbiassed judgment, led to the general safety and happiness, and to the attainment of that goal, has directed all the influence which his riches, power and authority have given him.

“The Union of Bevern with the kingdom of England was an event somewhat parallel to that of Scotland and Ireland in subsequent ages. It would be a theme not contemptible in the hands of an enlightened historian. In the general history of Britain it forms a subordinate episode, highly interesting from the nature of the circumstances attending it. The capricious tyranny of Henry the Eighth was generally submitted to by his abject people. But the inhabitants of this Dutchy, containing a large portion of catholics, made head against his innovations, and were not finally subdued, till the whole force of the kingdom was brought against them, and their obstinacy was extinguished by the death or banishment of three fourths of their number.

“The duke of Bevern was a compliant courtier, whose real sentiments were favourable to the reformation; but whose external conduct was always moulded by the reigning policy. His next brother was bishop of Beverley, a zealot of the persecuted religion, and the soul of this rebellion of the Bevernmen. By him was the standard of war raised, and upheld for upwards of three years with various success, against the whole power of the crown.

“The bishop was a man of consummate talents. History does not supply us with any instance of a more absolute power obtained by one man over many, than this leader acquired over his devoted followers. Though educated in the cloister, he took the field against the enemy, and conducted the most arduous military operations, with a skill and prudence only to be expected from one born and bred in camps.

“From peculiar circumstances, this district was one of the best cultivated and best peopled in the kingdom. It abounded more than any other with great and opulent convents. The bishop had many privileges and an extensive jurisdiction. He was lineally descended from Henry the Seventh, and the lustre of this descent added greatly to his influence. This influence somewhat justified the hatred and fear with which he was regarded by the king, who naturally confounded his resistance of religious edicts with a contest for the crown itself.

“Bevern, contained at that time about 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 60,000 were Romanists, and consequently all the latter being zealous in their bishop’s cause, they could furnish upwards of ten thousand soldiers. This number was armed, disciplined, and led to battle by the enterprising prelate, and though unable to make any effectual opposition to their enemies in the field, yet, by the obstinate defence of strong fortresses; by seasonable movements and skilful retreats among hills and forests, they succeeded in maintaining their footing in the country for three years. They were then entirely subdued, and immense and irreparable havoc was made among villages and farms; more than forty thousand of the Romanists, including their wives and children, were destroyed by the sword or the executioner; upwards of thirty stately monasteries were levelled with the ground; a score of ancient and celebrated castles shared the same fate, and the country became nearly desolate. The remnant of voluntary or compulsory conformists soon, however, bestirred themselves, and the next generation was able very nearly to repair all the evils which their ancestors had suffered.

“During these troubles, the Duke of Bevern contrived with great difficulty to escape the anger or suspicion of the tyrant. The bishop had equally rejected and trampled on the rights of the king and the duke, and when the rebellion was extinguished, the latter was reinstated in possession of his lands and his prerogatives. The country, however, was deprived of its independence. It was annexed to the rest of the kingdom, in consequence of its rebellion.

“This contumacious prelate was born in 1520, of Catharine, daughter of Henry the Seventh. He was made bishop of Beverley, in 1541. He had previously received all the advantages of education and travel, and displayed a powerful mind united to religious zeal. The king first extended his innovations to Athelney in 1544, and in 1545, the bishop escaped through numerous perils to the continent. He was received by the pope and the catholic princes, as a martyr in the cause of the true faith, and was raised to the dignity of cardinal, nuncio, and governor of a Roman province. On the death of Edward,

in 1553, he returned to England and was made primate, but refusing to sanction the projects of Elizabeth, he again retired, in 1558 to Italy. Two years after he was elected pope, at the age of forty, and occupied the pontifical throne thirty years, when he resigned the tiara, and retired to a convent of his own founding.

“ The life of this pontiff forms a very curious and interesting display of the human character, and of the spirit and manners of the age in which he lived.

“ At the time of his resignation, he was still in the flower of his age, and led a tranquil life in the bosom of his chosen solitude till 1611, when he sunk serenely and without pain into the arms of death, at the age of 91 years.

“ He was the only pope who had ever attained the tiara at so early an age, who enjoyed it so long, or who voluntarily resigned it. His conduct, on the whole, was eminently distinguished for piety, humanity and justice. He excelled all his predecessors in the taste and magnificence with which he cherished learning and the arts. He administered justice with impartiality, combining rigour and clemency in that due proportion which the public weal requires. He abolished or reformed many grievous taxes and impositions with which he found the Roman state burthened. He checked the fury of the inquisition, and behaved with so much mildness and forbearance towards the protestant princes and sects, as to bring into question the sincerity of his own faith, with those who had no opportunity of viewing his conduct closely. In his personal deportment he was a model of devotion, charity and temperance.

“ His subjects were fully sensible of their happiness under his government, and repaid his beneficence with unlimited devotion. When his resolution to resign the throne was published, murmurs and lamentations were, every where, heard in the Roman territory. Even foreign nations partook of the general grief; inspired by the loss of a pope, whose reign, compared with that of any of his predecessors had been a golden age of felicity. His wisdom and equity had even gained the gratitude and veneration of the protestant sects,

and they cordially united with the catholics in their regret for the past and their terror of the future.

“With all his wisdom, Felix was an arrant enthusiast. Whether a peculiar constitution of nerves, or a warm imagination was the source of his reveries, it is not easy to determine, but the sincerity with which he embraced his reveries and phantoms, as celestial revelations, cannot be doubted. He made no boasts of these favours; he built upon them no claim to extraordinary reverence from others. They seemed to awaken in his heart no passion but humility and gratitude. They directed his own conduct on many important and critical junctures, but he did not borrow from them any new authority over the conduct of others. He disclosed the intimations he received from this divine source sometimes to account for and justify his own personal behaviour, but never with a view to enhance his power or his sanctity in the eyes of the world. This indeed was a natural consequence, and his person became sacred exactly in proportion as his conduct, on this head was unambitious and disinterested.

“The being who thus performed the office of his better angel or genius was no other than St. Ulpha, the reputed mother of Arthur, and, of consequence, the lineal and direct ancestor of the Carril family. St. Ulpha had been worshipped time out of mind, at Beverly. According to an ancient constitution, no one could rightfully be bishop of that See but one of her descendants, and accordingly, it has, even to this day, been always filled by one claiming a near or remote relationship to the Carrils. Felix was destined for this office from his birth, but, till fifteen years of age, all his inclinations leaned towards the military life. This preference he maintained with great obstinacy against the wishes, advice and authority of all his relations, and renounced it only in consequence of a mysterious interview, by night, with the Saint herself, who condescended to impart to him, personally and orally her commands, and the will of Heaven. In pursuance of these commands he abjured all his military views, laid aside his customary studies and levities, and zealously devoted himself to the service of God and St. Ul-

pha. He made rapid progress in the clerical sciences, and his life became an exemplary pattern of humanity, piety and temperance.

“ According to his own report, it was sometimes in his power, by certain preparatory offices and prayers, the nature of which, he never imparted to others, to obtain the presence and direction of this supernatural guide. On all important occasions, he sought and obtained an interview, and frequently derived from her the power of deciding on the merit of adverse arguments on questions purely speculative. His clear and impartial understanding was frequently bewildered by the learned and skilful disputants of the age. He disdained to form his opinions, as others commonly formed theirs, after the dictates of interest or education or example. He lent an unbiassed ear to the advocates of the rival sects, by which Christendom was then divided, and thus acquired a sort of neutral or wavering conviction on religious topics, from which he was extricated only by the special revelations of St. Ulpha. This mode of settling his opinions had the happiest influence imaginable; since it excluded all doubt from his own mind, while, at the same time, it inspired him with compassion and forbearance towards others, whose belief did not in his eyes necessarily argue a weak head or a bad heart, and who dissented from him merely because they wanted that supernatural and infallible criterion of the truth which was granted to his prayers.

“ He attributed his acceptance of the bishopric; his desperate opposition to the innovations of Henry VIII, his compliance with Mary’s invitation to return and assume the primacy, his declining the offers of her successor, his retirement in Italy, his acceptance, and finally his resignation of the pope-dom to the special commands of St. Ulpha.

“ One exception has been discovered to the general integrity of his life, which deserves particular mention, because it is a curious example of the influence of this peculiar superstition on his mind. While a student at Padua, he formed a close intimacy with Giulio Terzi, the only son of the prince of Altamura. Time only added strength and tender-

ness to their mutual attachment, and their friendship was attested by a most voluminous and confidential correspondence carried on during every interval of separation. They wrote and conversed in no language but Latin, in their knowledge of which they were excelled by none of their contemporaries. Their correspondence was carried on in a mystic character, intelligible only to themselves.

“There was no third person in their friendship till 1545, when the bishop paid a visit to his friend, who had some years before, succeeded his father in his lordship of Altamura. Here he found Giulio living in the deepest seclusion with his only sister Giulia, a woman at that time about seventeen years old. As the bishop was still young, and equally noble and graceful in his person and address, the lady’s heart was soon biassed in his favour; as the lady added a most cultivated and polished mind to the most exquisite charms of person, and the most bewitching simplicity of manners, the visitant could scarcely fail, in spite of all his abstemious maxims and habits, to feel something more than a mere amicable sentiment towards her.

“Previous to this visit, he had scarcely ever passed a minute in the company of any female. This partly arose from an early bashfulness, made inveterate by habit, which made the presence of women painful and distressing to him, and partly from his multiplied religious and military duties; which left him no leisure for amusement. He desired to escape any introduction to the lady of the mansion, on the present occasion, and his friend was willing enough to gratify him in this particular. All his precautions, however, could not prevent him from meeting her, one morning, in a temple in the garden, which the prince had erected, in honour of St. Ulpha, the favourite divinity of his friend. The bishop chanced to repair thither at an hour much earlier than was customary, when he caught a view of the lady kneeling at the altar. She glided away at his approach, but not till he had obtained a distinct view of her face and person. His fancy, irresistably struck by her appearance, cherished, for a moment, the persuasion that the phantom was St. Ulpha her-

self; and when undeceived in that particular, he made no longer any scruple to see and converse with her. They soon became familiar, and such was the bishop's visionary temper, that he finally prevailed upon himself to believe that Ulpha herself had condescended to animate the form of Giulia, and that to love her person, to revere her understanding, to follow her councils, and to maintain a conjugal intimacy with her were the express injunctions of his duty. He could not find it difficult to remove her scruples as easily as he had done his own. What is somewhat surprising, the brother was wrought upon so far, by friendship or by reasoning, as to sanction their alliance. Their connection produced no children, and they continued in the closest union for twenty-one years, when the lady died suddenly on coming out of the bath, being previously in perfect health. She bequeathed her estate, which she had inherited from her brother, eight years before, to the pope, and this estate was all the landed property which Felix acquired, directly or indirectly, through his long pontificate.

"The domain of Altamura extended over some Romantic hills and fertile vallies in the heart of Apulia. It was nearly equal in extent to that district in Bevernshire which is called "the Patrimony of St. Ulpha," and still belonging to the bishops, the protestant successors of Felix. This similiarity, together with the circumstance of being the birth-place and residence of one whom he seriously regarded as a second appearance of the same beatified being in an human form, commended it strongly to his affections, and he speedily conceived the design of building a convent to her honour on this spot, endowing it with this whole estate, and taking refuge in its shades, at the arrival of that period at which he had previously resolved to resign the pontifical throne. This period was the seventieth year of his age, when he would have enjoyed the papacy, thirty years, a longer reign than had happened to any of his predecessors.

"Felix had formed a solemn resolution never to convert any part of the public revenue to his own personal use, or that of any of his relations, as such. Every Englishman he re-

garded as a brother, and those of his countrymen who were condemned to exile and poverty on account of religion he held it a duty to protect and relieve, but he placed their merit on the same footing with that of their fellow sufferers of any other nation, and though he bestowed his bounty on them with more pleasure, he did not bestow it more promptly or largely. Among the exiles from England, there were several near akin to him. These, however unworthy, he rescued from poverty, but he allowed them no extraordinary favour or distinction unless their virtues, as well as the ties of blood, pleaded for them. During the first fifteen years of his pontificate, he was allowed by all to have behaved, in this respect, with decency and moderation, but less merit was ascribed to this forbearance because none of his near kinsman had appeared at Rome in that time. His virtue was not fully tried till the year 1570, when Felix Carril, his nephew, the only brother of the duke of Bevern, the great favourite of Elizabeth, became a convert to the catholic faith, and took refuge in Italy.

“Felix was more than six years younger than his brother, and joined therefore the graces of youth, to a spirit as restless, enterprising and ambitious as the duke’s. He was handsome, intrepid, generous, artful and insinuating, and had aimed at nothing less than to supplant his brother in the queen’s favour. In this contest, however, he was worsted by the superior address of his brother: the influence of the latter prevailed upon the queen to deprive him of an office which he held near her person, and to banish him, for an indefinite time, to the country. In this irksome retirement, revenge and despair working together in the mind of the youth, and an emissary of the duke, suggesting to him erroneous counsels under the guise of friendship, he suddenly conceived the design of embracing the Romish religion, and taking refuge with his uncle the pope. The partiality the pontiff was known to have for his countrymen and his relations; the extraordinary claim to his favour arising from the peculiar circumstances of the convent; his near relationship; the sacrifices made of fortune and country for conscience-sake; his own personal graces and

talents, all these commending him so strongly to favour, what might he not expect. The nephews of former popes pointed out to him the career which he imagined himself destined to run. He reckoned on hereditary honours and estates scarcely inferior to those enjoyed by the head of his family in England, and even the popedom itself he flattered himself was as much within his grasp, as it had been within his uncle's, who, like himself had been a younger brother, and an exile for conscience sake.

"Seduced by these plausible views, dexterously suggested to him by his brother's agent, he fled to Italy, and obtained, from his uncle, such a reception, as, for a time, confirmed all his hopes. This illusion, however, gradually disappeared, and instead of directing the councils, and distributing the bounties of his uncle, he found himself carefully excluded from all influence and importance in the state. Instead of obtaining lands and castles in his own right, or mending his condition by a splendid matrimonial alliance, like the nephews of former popes, he was merely allowed a decent pension, and the quiet enjoyment of all the caresses which his personal merit, or the dignity of his birth could procure for him from others. His artifices, his intreaties or his menaces were all thrown away upon the inflexible pontiff. In vain did he assume the clerical life; the red hat was as much beyond his reach after he became a priest as before.

"The pope had too much sagacity to be mistaken in the character and views of his nephew. The young man gave no such proofs of sincerity and steadiness as to afford him even a pretext for deviating from the strict line, which it became a disinterested pontiff to pursue. He readily granted his nephew's prayers for a dispensation from his newly taken vows, and permitted him, in 1577, to accept a military commission from the emperor. Felix's restless and enterprising temper, led him to hope for glory and distinction, and even for kingly power and territory, in a war against the Turks. He attained, in the campaigns of the next five years, no small portion of the former, but not one road to the latter. At the end of that period, Stephen Battory, the celebrated

king of Poland, died, and Felix entertained the bold design of succeeding him. As this project was not disadvantageous to the common cause of Christendom, the pope warmly espoused his cause, and in 1585, at the age of 35, he was elected and firmly seated on the throne of Poland, through the influence of the emperor and the pontiff.

“ No sooner had Felix gained the summit of his ambition, than his usual mutability betrayed itself. He had strained every faculty and nerve to overcome the obstacles which stood in the way of his election, and had slighted the dictates of his uncle’s wisdom, which had warned him of the turbulence and misery to which the acquisition would condemn him. The pope, finding his nephew inflexible in his pursuit, reluctantly afforded him all the assistance in his power, in hopes that, should his efforts be successful, his influence over his kinsmen might be employed for the benefit of the Polish nation. When Felix became king, the pope supplied him with the best advice, as to the mode of conduct most conducive to the happiness of his subjects and his own glory. He supplied him with sage counsellors, skilful agents, and considerable sums of money, and the new monarch entered into the part assigned him, with all the zeal and docility to be desired.

“ The Poles at this period, were a nation scarcely emerged from barbarism. A ferocious and tyrannical nobility, and a race of stupid slaves composed nearly the whole mass of the people. The bond of connexion between the several parts and between the whole nation and the supreme head, were feeble and precarious. The Turks, Muscovites and Tartars, continually menaced its tranquility and independence from without, while differences of religion, inveterate feuds among the great, and a passion for war, were internal causes of incessant commotion and destructive violence. The objects which the pope strenuously recommended to his nephew, were the diminution of the privileges of the nobles, the exaltation of the peasants from their present abject and brutal condition, the introduction and encouragement of commerce and the useful arts, and the extirpation, by lenient methods, of

the new doctrines in religion. He did not discountenance his nephew's project, not only of enlarging the royal power, but of making it hereditary in his own person, because he considered the system of election as the chief cause of the miseries of Poland.

"Whether there was any defect in the means adopted for this end, or whether the end was, in itself, in the present state of things, unattainable, or, which is most likely, Felix possessed not sufficient wisdom and steadiness for so difficult an undertaking, certain it is that all his projects ended only in driving two adverse parties into war. War was a scene in which he was much more qualified to shine than in council, and had fortune not been remarkably untoward he would have succeeded in establishing an absolute monarchy in spite of all opposition.

"A very inconsiderable sum punctually remitted from Rome, and a small but well disciplined army of foreign mercenaries, together with valour and conduct, were sufficient to surmount all opposition. A continual tide of success attended his military operations and one desperate battle was all that remained to complete his triumph. The battle was fought. He gained the victory, but, venturing too far in rash pursuit, he himself was made prisoner by the vanquished. This unlucky accident turned the current of success; his troops deprived of their leader, were disheartened, and either dispersed or deserted to the enemy. The nobles that had adhered to him, abandoned his cause, and joined his adversaries in deposing him and electing a successor. He escaped an ignominious death only by eluding his jailers and leaving the country.

"In the miserable and hopeless condition of a fugitive and exile, he reached his ancient mansion at Rome, and there received tidings which made him ever after consider his expulsion from Poland as the most fortunate event of his life. His wife was the fourth child and only daughter of Alphonso D'Este, duke of Ferrara, Reggio and Modina. This alliance had been formed clandestinely, before Felix left Italy in 1577. The pope's refusal to make his nephew richer than he found

him, had caused the duke to refuse his consent to the match, when regularly sought by Felix. Having obtained the maiden's own consent, she fled in disguise from Ferrara, was hastily married on the road, and accompanied Felix into Hungary. The duke had interest enough at Vienna to have his daughter restored to him. She was imprisoned, and treated for three years, with great rigour. The pope, though displeased with his nephew's conduct, refused to annul the marriage, nor was the lady released and restored to her husband, till after his accession to the Polish crown. On the commencement of the civil war, he sent her and her children into Italy, and, after a time followed her himself in the manner above related.

“ In the interval, between his escape from prison and his arrival incognito at his wife's palace in Rome, the duke of Ferrara and his three sons were drowned while sailing on the Po in a pleasure boat. The eldest son had been married long enough to have one child, who perished with its father: the second son had been married a few weeks, and the third was on the eve of marriage. By this signal accident, Felix in right of his wife, suddenly became duke of Ferrara; a principality, at that time, one of the richest and most flourishing in Europe, in which the regal power was thoroughly established and extremely absolute, and his claim to which could not fail to be maintained by the only two powers, whose good will was of any importance, the pope and the emperor. Such were the strange vicissitudes in the life of Felix, during the ten years that elapsed from his flight from England and his escape from Poland, and thus was he finally conducted to the very point which his ambition originally set before him, by a path that, to all human wisdom, was the most random and diverse that could have been imagined. It is a remarkable instance of the folly of the wise, that Felix had uniformly acted in opposition to the councils of his uncle. His flight from England was condemned by the pope; his enlisting in the emperor's service, his acceptance of the Polish crown, his marriage, his resorting to arms in support of his political projects, were all strongly disapproved of not only as flowing from wrong designs, but as means unsuitable to these designs,

and yet by a manifest and necessary chain did all these events place him in the very situation to which he most fondly aspired.

"A great deal of good will and affection had always subsisted, in spite of the nephew's perversenesses, between him and his uncle. The latter rejoiced in the good fortune of his kinsman, who still endeavoured to conform himself to his uncle's advice in the government of his new territory. To this disposition was chiefly owing the uncommon prosperity which attended the rest of his life. He performed with great success, the part of a wise and beneficent governor, and his virtues met their due reward in the felicity and gratitude of his people.

"It was generally acknowledged then, considering the feeble and exhausted state of the Spanish monarchy, and the uncommon riches and strength of the papacy, the conquest of the kingdom of Naples would have been no very formidable undertaking. There were not wanting many earnest advocates of this project at the pontifical court. There were, indeed, not a few, who believed that a pontiff of Felix's character and great fiscal and military strength would have found it easy to drive all foreigners out of Italy, and have either appropriated their dominions to the church, or bestowed it on his own family. Such splendid projects were cherished with great eagerness by the duke of Ferrara, but they were always instantly and sternly rejected by the pontiff himself, who, instead of feeding his fancy with such visions, had early formed the resolution of resigning, before his death, the popedom itself.

"Duke Felix put his eldest son under his uncle's care at Altamura, and made a will in 1595, constituting him guardian of his son and regent of his principality, in case of his own death before his heir came of age. At this time the duke was only forty-seven years old, while the abdicated pontiff, now abbot of St. Ulpha, was seventy-five. Six years afterwards (1601) the duke was hurried to the grave by a fever caught while travelling by night, over an unwholesome country. His son Alphonso, was only fifteen years old, and the tutor assumed the government of his territories, and exercised

his power with all the vigour of youth. When the lord reached his twenty-second year, the period fixed for his majority in his father's will, the uncle and guardian gladly resigned his authority and once more returned to the solitudes of Altamura, and here he quietly resigned his breath, in the year 1623, at the great age of 103 years.

"Ferrara, Modena and Reggio have continued, with little permanent alteration in this branch of the Carril family till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Few families have been more fortunate in producing an uninterrupted succession of male heirs distinguished in general by their wisdom and integrity. Twelve princes of the names of Arthur and Felix have peaceably succeeded each other, and their territories, though occasionally disturbed, incroached upon, invaded or pillaged by their quarrelsome neighbours, have remained nearly stationary in extent, riches and population from the death of the first Arthur in 1640.

"Arthur the Second, obtained from the pope and emperor, the privilege of consolidating his territories into one principality, by the name of Felisca, by which name it has since been generally known.

"This state contained in 1690, about 3500 square miles, and 500,000 people. Three hundred thousand were engaged in agriculture, and two hundred thousand were distributed in cities, towns and villages. The villages contained about 250 inhabitants each, and were in number about three hundred. Each town had an average population of 5000, and were 10 in number. The cities of Orlanto, Bundisi and Turanto, each contained about 25,000 people. The average rental of city houses was 50 ducats a year; the whole rental of 7000 such houses was 350,000 ducats. Town or burgh houses brought 25 ducats total, of 4000 houses, 100,000 ducats. A village house was worth 5 ducats a year, or, for 12000 homesteads, 60,000 ducats. The whole rental of dwelling houses appears to amount to 500,000 ducats.

"Nearly all the plains were under cultivation. The mountainous region in the centre which occupied an horizontal length of 100 by an horizontal breadth of 10 miles, engrossed

about 1500 square miles of the whole surface. This region afforded some pasture, but principally consisted of rocks and forest, the former of which afforded extensive quarries of the finest marble, while the latter contained inexhaustible stores of timber, for building, furniture and fuel.

“The cultivated plains consisted of about 1,300,000 acres, the annual rental of which amounted to about the same number of ducats; so that the annual rent of house and land exceeded 1800 ducats.

“The ducal revenue consisted of one fifth of the above sum; as a perpetual land tax and valuation; of a capitation of 1 ducat which produced 500 ducats of the rental of demesne land, amounting to 64,000 of a profit in the domestic sale and exportation of salt; an article, wherever found, accounted public property, and of which there were very fertile mines in the province. Of this commodity about 50,000 bushels were annually consumed at home and four times that quantity exported. Each bushel yielding a clear profit to the exchequer of 1 ducat, this branch of revenue produced, at least, 250 ducats. Hence it appears that the ducal revenue amounted to about 1,000,000 ducats.

“On an estimation being made of the national income, it appeared that the whole equally divided among all the individuals, amounted to 20 ducats each person, or a total of 10 millions, the tythe of which belonged to the prince alone.

“When this family first obtained possession, they found themselves no more than the head of about three hundred feudal barons, who exercised all the rights of both government and property over the tenants of their lands and houses, and of a few republican corporations, who acted as sovereigns within their own walls. The mass of the people were held in degrading bondage by the aristocracy. The proprietors chiefly spent their time and their revenue in foreign countries, and trusted their authority to ignorant, tyrannical and mercenary agents. The sea coasts were ravaged by the Turks till they had nearly become desolate. The springs of government had become totally relaxed, and every species of crime and outrage prevailed without restraint or punishment.

The whole population did not exceed 200,000 of whom it was computed that two thousand annually died by poison and the poinard. Several strong holds in the mountains were possessed by banditti, whose numbers exceeded three thousand, and who waged a regular predatory war on the peaceful inhabitants of the vallies. The Turkish corsairs carried away every year into captivity, not less than three thousand persons; while the miserable remnant, suffered all the evils of superstition, ignorance and misgovernment. All the internal and external causes of decay and ruin, which for half a century, afflicted the kingdom of Naples, operated in these islands with unusual violence, and though the most fertile and most favourably situated for arts, commerce and agriculture, it was in the most desolate and deplorable condition.

“The finest wheat in the world grew in these isles, which however, was nearly extinct as it was not allowed to be exported, and as the people subsisted almost wholly on maize. Of this grain enough was raised to maintain the inhabitants and no more: consequently, not above 100,000 acres out of 2,800,000 was cultivated with any species of corn. The pastures maintained about 20,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep, and consisted of about 300,000 acres. Cotton, vines, olives and fruits of which little more was raised than sufficed for the wants of the people did not engross above 20,000 acres more. The whole cultivated or enclosed ground fell considerably short of 700 square miles which was only $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the whole. The high lands, contained $\frac{2}{3}$ ths, while the rest of the plains (about 1300 square miles) was consigned to the lynxes, wolves, stags and wild boars, and was overrun with pestilential bogs or impenetrable thickets.

“After the extortions of pirates and banditti, and the embezzlements of agents were deducted, the whole amount of rent and capitation which came into the coffers of the barons did not exceed 300,000 ducats. The administration of justice in the cities, and a vast number of duties and customs brought to the treasury of the prince about 180,000 ducats, which being entirely expended in maintaining a governor and a

few garrisons, about 1500 men in all wretchedly armed, clothed and provided, left nothing for the king's treasury.

"The place of governor, and eight or ten of the most lucrative offices were usually filled by Spaniards, whose flatteries or services at court were rewarded by enjoying these opportunities of enriching themselves. As their whole ingenuity was employed in augmenting the regular gains of a short and precarious office, by fees and perquisites, by selling justice and commuting crimes for money; as this system was industriously carried on by the agents of each petty baron as well as by those of the king, we may easily imagine the general havoc and destruction which overwhelmed this neglected corner of the Spanish empire.

"When the Normans conquered Naples and Sicily, in 1127, the province of Taranto became the property of one of the descendants of Tancred, who held it as a fief of the crown, and whose posterity took the name of D'Oria, from a castle called Oria, which he built, and which afterwards became a royal residence. In the various and destructive revolutions which afterwards happened, this petty kingdom continued to subsist, and the family, through twenty-two generations, in some degree, maintained its ancient lustre and prerogatives, till the contests between Charles VIII. and Alphonso II. Ferdinand, the father of Alphonso, and the natural son of Ferdinand the catholic, by whom Naples was bequeathed to him by will, in 1496, found many difficulties in attaining possession, chiefly through the opposition of Rinaldo IX. prince of Taranto, who claimed the crown for himself as the only legitimate descendant of the Norman princes. The prince, who might have been successful in the field, was poisoned by his adversary, and his son Rinaldo X. took refuge in France. His exhortations were the principal cause of the invasion of Charles VIII. in the successful issue of which he regained his principality, with such additions of power and prerogative as to make Taranto nearly a sovereign and independent state. On the expulsion of the French, and the re-establishment of Frederick, the nominal submission and co-operation of this prince was purchased by the generosity and moderation of

Frederick, but being thwarted in some unreasonable pretension, he brought the French once more into the kingdom. The war that was terminated by the establishment of the Spaniards in Naples, in 1503, was fatal to this family. Rinaldo X. was slain in battle and his children withdrew, on the confiscation of their property, to Rome. Here they subsisted in obscurity and poverty till the viceroyship of cardinal Colonna, whose sister married Rinaldo XII. the head of the D'Orias. Colonna had sufficient interest with Charles V. to obtain for his brother-in-law, in 1533, the restoration of Altimura, a lordship on Puglia, and a part of their ancient patrimony. Camillo, the son of this Rinaldo, was the friend, above mentioned, of Pope Felix, whose tranquil and unambitious character gave no disturbance or suspicion to the Spanish government.

“When Felix returned home from Padua in 1541, to be made bishop of St. Ulpha, he prevailed upon Camillo D'Oria, his friend to accompany him. Mary, the favourite sister of Felix was an additional bond of alliance between these friends. He promoted so successfully a match between them that the union was effected in 1544, and the prince, his father, dying, he carried his bride to Italy.

“Camillo followed his wife to the grave in the year 1573. By his will he left the guardianship of his infant daughter Camilla, jointly to his sister Julia and the pope. The lordship of Altimura he left to his sister for her life, and then to the pope for his life, and afterwards to his daughter, provided she married agreeably to the pope's choice : otherwise the estate was to be at the absolute disposal of the latter. At this time the orphan heiress was 12 years of age.

“The younger Felix who came to Italy in 1570, and had taken orders with a view of obtaining ecclesiastical preferment, had hitherto met with nothing but mortification and disappointment. The military life had always been most congenial to his habits and disposition, and this he had renounced, merely through the dictates of a restless ambition. Finding his uncle by no means disposed to raise him to the summit of honour, without a longer probation and a stricter scrutiny than

his patience could brook, he quickly repented of his precipitation, and finally resolved to resume the character of a layman. While forming these resolutions, the death of Camillo D'Oria, and the beauty and splendid prospects of his daughter suggested a new and alluring project to his fancy.

"If hereditary right were allowed its due force, the true title to the throne of Naples had visibly and indisputably centered in this daughter of the D'Orias. The French and Aragonese claims to that kingdom, were founded in palpable violence and usurpation. They were supported by arms and by faction alone, while the veneration of the people belonged only to the house of D'Oria.

"But if the claim of this family to the whole kingdom were allowed to be subverted or weakened by an interruption of possession for more than four centuries, their title to the province of Taranto was exempt from a similar objection. No more than 70 years had elapsed since their quiet possession of that principality, and the justice of their claim, as well as the iniquity of the Spaniards in crushing it, was fresh in the memory and conviction of all men. The orphan was generally and familiarly known as the lineal and legitimate descendant of Rogero, and was often called by a kind of custom or licence, queen of Naples and princess of Taranto. Her right had as many partizans within and without Italy as there were persons who bestowed any reflection on the subject, and who were not devoted by their interests to Spain.

"All the Italian politicians of that age considered the dominion of strangers in Italy as a glaring usurpation, and it was deemed a mark of true patriotism to indulge wishes and suggest projects for their expulsion. These reasoners, while they took into their view the whole Peninsula, were particularly ardent and zealous with respect to the two Sicilies where the dominion of Barbarians was supported by less plausible pretexts, and had been more capricious and ruinous than in any other quarter of Italy. The vicinity of the pope's residence to this kingdom, the extraordinary vigour of the present pontiff, the order which his wisdom and energy had established within his own precincts; the magnitude of his resources and the feudal su-

premacý which he already enjoyed, naturally pointed him out as the sole and proper agent in this revolution. The felicity enjoyed by his subjects contrasted with the miseries endured by the ill-fated slaves of Spain could not fail to inspire the people of Naples with fervent wishes for such a change. The overgrown empire and arrogant conduct of Spain would have made all the other powers of Christendom friendly to this scheme, while the declining and languishing state of that monarchy exposed them more easily to be attacked and subdued. The general security from the ambition of the Turks, made a wise and vigorous government more necessary in Naples, and especially in the province of Taranto than elsewhere, because it was the point most exposed to insult and invasion, and through which lay the most practicable road to the heart of Italy. This consideration obtained new force from the memory of Solyman's irruption, who made good his footing in the kingdom more through the weakness and supineness of the reigning government than from any other cause. When to all these views, the plea of justice, arising from the title of the D'Orias was added it seemed certain that the pontiff would at length determine on hostile measures.

"When these things were revolved by the nephew, he was seized with an ardent desire of securing to himself this splendid inheritance by marrying his cousin. He therefore made haste to lay down the emblems of priesthood, and anticipate all other aspirers to so desirable a match. He naturally thought that as his personal qualities did not place him below any other, his near relationship, both to the pontiff and his ward, would be irresistible pleas in his favour with the most impartial, and though the pope should obstinately decline any attack on Naples or Taranto on his behalf, the lady's right to Altimura was at least settled, and its benefits in actual possession.

"On the first point, the pope readily conceded to his wishes, and unfettered him from vows to which he believed his nephew would never have submitted. On the second point, he did not show the same facility. With regard to his niece, he declared himself determined to decline all proposals till the

lady was twenty years of age, and then to sanction no wooer that was not agreeable to her. As to her claims upon Naples, he avowed his solemn resolution never to prosecute them by force of arms, either on behalf of his niece or of the papacy, and forbade his friends and ministers to urge him any further on that head. On this topic, there had been always but one voice among those counsellors who were not Spaniards.

"This moderation in Felix was the more remarkable as his whole ministerial and ecclesiastical life in England had been spent in efforts to counteract the projects of Charles and Philip, and as, since his exaltation to the popedom he had secretly befriended Elizabeth and always refused assistance to her enemy. In both circumstances, however, Felix had been governed by a disinterested regard to justice.

"The pride of Philip could not conceal from him that he owed the possession of Naples to the moderation of the pontiff, and such renown for equity had the pope obtained that Philip considered his life as the best security, he could possibly have for possession. To this circumstance was Felix, probably indebted for his long life, since it prevented those attempts at poisoning or assassination which were then common, and which were generally considered as the favourite instruments of Spanish policy.

"The nephew, irritated as well as mortified by these refusals, entered into a scheme for accomplishing his favourite ends without the knowledge of the pontiff. He began to ruminate on plans for seizing some fortresses in Naples and Sicily and exciting a rebellion among the people, and had made some progress in this plot, when his agents being detected by the Spanish ministry, formal complaint was made to the pope. The nephew, in consequence, received a severe reprimand and was strictly enjoined to drop all such dangerous and unlawful projects, on pain of condign punishment. While writhing under this new disappointment, the imperial ambassador invited Felix to fight against the Turks in Hungary under his banners. The uncle warmly approving the proposal and promising to support him by large supplies of money, he gladly

consented to change the scene and try his fortune on a new theatre.

“By a judicious use of the pope’s liberal remittances ; by improving the constitution and discipline of his troops as near as possible to the standard of that of the Janissaries ; and by memorable exertions of valour and military conduct, he speedily obtained a splendid reputation, and gained greater advantages over the infidels than any former leader. Stephen Batori, king of Poland, soon acquired such esteem for him, that he entrusted him with the supreme command in an army raised to expel the sultan from Transylvania, his native principality. After many bloody campaigns in which he waged a successful war against superior forces, the province was freed from the invaders. The king made him his delegate, and he governed that extensive province with great felicity and renown. By this conduct he gained the cordial approbation of his uncle, who opened his treasures for his use with less scruple because his exertions contributed to the common security of Christendom.

“On his expulsion from the throne of Poland, in 1586, he repaired to Rome to enjoy some tranquillity after his recent hardships and fatigues, by which his health had been greatly and even dangerously effected, and to crave his uncle’s assistance in restoring him. The pope counselled him to lay aside all thoughts of his lost dignity, as his rival was now too firmly seated to be removed, and as the papal revenues could not be justifiably employed in contests of that nature. As no further opposition was made to his wishes with regard to the princess of Altimura, who had remained unmarried till this time, and who lent a favourable ear to his vows, he acquiesced without murmuring, in these pacific councils. New events in Naples opened soon after unexpected prospects to his ambition.

“The state of things, as already described, in the island of Sardinia, soon led to an extraordinary revolution. Antonio Mozzi was the son of an advocate at Ostuni. He betrayed even in childhood, a turbulent and vicious disposition, and all his evil propensities acquired strength as he advanced in years.

He committed many heinous crimes, which escaped punishment by reason of his father's influence, and the general relaxation of the laws. At length, transported with rage on the advocates rebuking him from some atrocious offence, he slew his father with his own hand, and this crime exposing him to punishment he took refuge with the outlaws of the mountains. Here he outstripped in courage and cruelty, the oldest of his comrades, and soon became a leader. In this station, his views gradually enlarged, and after drawing all the dispersed troops under his own standard, he meditated no less than the regular conquest of the whole country. By a series of rapid and skilful enterprises he accomplished this object in a short time, and defeated all the troops which the government had sent against him. He proceeded in so judicious a manner to model and strengthen his government, and to seek the aid of foreign states especially that of the Turkish sultan, that the court of Spain began to be seriously alarmed for the safety of the whole kingdom. In this dilemma, Philip made application to the pope, and offered to invest his niece and nephew with the sovereignty of this province, under certain conditions, provided the latter would find means to expel Casetti. The pope and his nephew were well disposed to hearken to these overtures, but would not consent to take the gift burthened with any limitations or conditions but merely that of recovering the province without any assistance from Philip. As Casetti was quickening his preparations for invading the other provinces, and certain advices were received that the sultan was preparing to second him with a considerable force, all scruples and delays were at an end, and Felix was made absolute sovereign of the country on the sole condition of conquering it in a limited time.

“As soon as the treaty was ratified, Felix began his preparations, and the pope considering the expulsion of Mozzi as an act of self-defence against the Turk, was liberal of his assistance. Many officers and soldiers who served under him in Hungary, obeyed his summons, and in a short time, he formed an army of thirty thousand men. This numerous force was no more than the nature of the warfare and the strength of the

enemy required. Casetti Mozzi had raised his army to forty thousand men; the sultan had supplied him with store of arms and ammunition, and a considerable armament was daily expected to take possession of some convenient harbour.

“Mozzi proved himself a skilful general, and regulated his defences in such a manner as to leave little hope of success to his adversaries. He meditated a war of skirmishes and posts, and so extensive was his knowledge of the country and so numerous and impregnable his fortresses that such a plan, strictly adhered to, would have made him invincible. The negligence of some of his officers and the impetuosity of his troops partly defeated this cautionary plan, and brought on a drawn battle between 7000 of his men and 6000 of the enemy. This contest was carried on with great obstinacy for three days, when Casetti was compelled to retire, leaving four thousand of his own men and two thousand of his enemies dead on the field. This war which was prosecuted without intermission for seven years and an half, and which ended in the total extermination of the Banditti, abounded with deeds of valour and honour, beyond any which have ever been recorded. The crown which was thus hardly earned, has since been as bravely preserved by the posterity of Felix. A curious computation is found in the histories of this war, of the havoc it occasioned, of which the following are some of the particulars. We may observe that when Mozzi clearly perceived his cause to be desperate, he and his followers made up their resolution to die, but to sweeten their death by as much revenge as possible. Mozzi himself, and a few followers escaped to Turkey, and his valour and fortune finally conducted him to the visiership, and he finally closed his tempestuous career in a peaceful death, at sixty years of age. There fell by the sword, on the side of the banditti, 75,000. He compelled every man able to bear arms, to take them up in his defence, and hence the whole community became soldiers on one side or the other.

“Felix began the war with 30,000, and continual recruits being supplied, the whole number enlisted in the course of the war, amounted to 70,000, of which about 10,000 deserted and

were afterwards slain, and of the rest only 20,000 survived to accompany the victor in his triumph.

“Of the unarmed people, there were massacred 100,000. There were starved in the forests, about 6000. Despair drove to suicide upwards of 1000. Of houses pillaged and destroyed, there were 50,000; and the destruction of cattle and corn was beyond computation.

“Such were the powerful effects of good government, and so rapid is the healing operation of peace and security, that in twenty years almost all the vestiges of this havoc were obliterated, a new generation arose more than twice as numerous as the former; all the inveterate evils of the ancient government had disappeared, and a tide of felicity flowed over the land such as no part of Italy or Europe at that time could parallel.

“On the death of pope Paul the third, in 1549, the cardinal of St. Ulpha, though only twenty-nine years of age, had very nearly attained the papacy. His illustrious descent, being the grandson of Henry the Seventh; his exertions and sufferings in the cause of religion; the unbounded reverence paid to his virtues, pleaded strongly in his favour with those who were sensible how much the dignity of the holy see had been impaired by the vices and misconduct of the late pontiff. The lutheran heresy owed its rapid progress in the world to nothing more than to the personal character of the heads of the church, and to those abuses with which the papal government was acknowledged, both by friends and enemies, to be infected. The surest antidote therefore to this heresy, was the choice of a man, who though so young, had established a character for wisdom, integrity and piety beyond any of his contemporaries. With such reasoners, his youth and good constitution were additional recommendations, because they furnished some security that a salutary reign would be likewise a long one.

“The cardinal, since his exile, had been legate of Avignon, and the energy and wisdom of his government had already made him the darling of the people. While he governed Avignon, he made it his whole employment to reform and benefit the people under his care, and gave such signal instances of beneficence and justice, as acquired for him, with the su-

perstitious, the reputation of a saint. He conducted himself with so much humanity towards the protestants within his diocese as in a great measure to check the progress of the new opinions. The gratitude and love with which he inspired heretics made more converts than tyranny and persecution made elsewhere. Those that were invincible by gentle means, he banished, but allowed them to carry away their property or dispose of it, without material injury. During his legateship none were punished with death for their religion, and yet heresy had wholly disappeared within the limits of his province. In fine, he displayed at Avignon all the virtues which he afterwards exhibited at Rome on a larger scale.

“ In 1548, the plague raged with great vehemence at Avignon and its neighbourhood. The legate had been called to Rome, and been offered a more advantageous government in Italy, but pitying the miseries of the Avignoneze, he chose to return thither, in the height of the pestilence. By entering the city without fears for his own safety, putting into force various salutary regulations, and inspecting and superintending everything in his own person, he checked or mitigated the evils which had prevailed. As he exposed himself so far as to attend the sick in some cases and bury the dead with his own hands without taking the infection, his reputation acquired new lustre, and he was generally regarded as the favourite instrument of Heaven.

“ Notwithstanding his great merit, the reigning pope regarded him with suspicion and aversion. As the cardinal could never be brought to commend the conduct of the pontiff, and on all occasions gave advice adverse to his wishes, and those of his grandson, he incurred their hatred, and was deprived of his legateship. He was even accused of heresy and of treason in failing to execute certain orders received from Rome, respecting the punishment of dissidents, and being summoned thither to defend himself, he set out, without delay, on the journey. On his arrival, he found the pope dead, and was offered the unanimous votes of the Conclave, provided he engaged to restore Parma to Octavio Farnese. Steadily refusing to do this, and avowing maxims of government hostile to the interests of

those that adhered to that prince, they had address enough to substitute Julius the Third in his place.

“ As he disdained to be the pandar or flatterer of the new pope, he was neglected by him, and he passed the next three years alternately at Rome or Altamura. While at Rome, he obtained the enthusiastic veneration of the people by his devotion and charity, and was invested by them with a miraculous power over vices and diseases. He resided in a convent which he built and dedicated to St. Ulpha, and which he made the asylum of many of his distressed countrymen. In the pulpit of this church, he was accustomed to preach, and acquired as much fame for eloquence as any preacher of that age.

“ During the life of Henry VIII, he was exposed to perpetual danger of poison or assassination from the malice and revenge of that prince. These efforts, however, only served to display the innocence and magnanimity of the cardinal, who uniformly refused to use any precaution against such plots, and more than once arrested the arm of the assassin by mere intrepidity and presence of mind. His conduct in the conclave drew upon him the indignation of the house of Farnese, and he ran an imminent risk of destruction from their vengeance. Against this, as well as the former danger, he provided neither arms nor vigilance. He trusted to nothing but a firm and equal integrity, and the protection of providence. Death being the universal lot, he considered the time and manner as indifferent circumstances; and even maintained that what is called a sudden and violent death is, to the sufferer, more eligible than the lingering and painful course of disease.

“ When he first arrived in Italy, the public voice and the good will of the pope would not suffer him to choose between a public and private station. He did not hesitate, however, to choose the government of some province belonging to the see, in preference to any ministerial office at Rome, however lucrative, or to any diplomatic mission however honourable and important. He knew that in the former station he should be less trammelled by the orders of a superior, and left more to the guidance of his own understanding than in the latter. He preferred the legateship of Avignon, to any other, because that

province was most remote from the capital, and the government less within the view, and less liable to the intermeddling superintendence of the pontiff and his ministers ; because its condition was more miserable and consequently stood in more need of a just and beneficent ruler, than that of any other province of the papal empire.

“ He bent the whole force of his mind to the duties of his princely office. The general concerns, both religious and political, of Christendom, did not escape his attention, but he carefully abstained from intermeddling with them, and thus enjoyed better opportunities of promoting the happiness of his immediate subjects than any of those who had preceded him.

“ He was promoted to the papacy notwithstanding the intrigues of the house of Austria, but this exaltation he owed more to accident than design. Notwithstanding his acknowledged merit, there were few members of the conclave who espoused his cause, for, in the first place, he regarded the tiara with terror rather than affection. Its duties appeared to him arduous beyond his power to discharge them. He knew that all his good resolutions would be defeated by the spirit of the times. Those agents and counsellors whom he should be obliged to employ, were influenced by passions, interests and prejudices hostile to his favourite plans. He dreaded the necessity of falling down the general stream of corruption, and of witnessing and sanctioning proceedings against which his reason and conscience rebelled. His expectations on this head were indeed, as faint as his hopes, since the factions which divided the conclave had all of them interest to promote entirely foreign to his. He embraced no party, and was active neither on his own behalf nor that of any other. It was chance that brought him to Rome at the critical moment. He remained after the death of the pope, because the continuance of his office depended on the will of the successor. He, at first, had determined not to enter the conclave, but was finally persuaded to change his purpose by Caprara, the only intimate friend he had in the college. Caprara, though at first the friend of another candidate, became afterwards the powerful

partizan of Felix, and by the exertion of consummate address and artifice accomplished his unanimous election. Three factions contended for several weeks for the mastery. One of these was guided by the Spaniards. The second by the nephews of the late pope, while the third embraced the cause of moderation and virtue, and fixed their eyes upon Cardinal de Salm, a prelate who bore a strong resemblance to the English prince, in every thing but health, age and ambition. An infirm constitution and great age, for he was seventy-two, recommended him strongly to all parties in the college, while his own ambition made him as anxious to improve the present opportunity as Felix had been indifferent and remiss. For him, Felix intended to vote, being of all the candidates, the least exceptionable, but, though thus disposed himself, he made use of no means to bring over others to his sentiments.

“ For some time, though neither party had the requisite majority, the Spaniards had the greatest number of voices. The Caraffas came next, while the partizans of De Salm, though too small to hope for success were sufficiently numerous to decide the election by joining either of the other factions. Though the third party was the smallest in number, it consisted of men of so much energy and zeal, and the motives of their choice were so little connected with petty interests or personal attachments, that there was little hope of winning them to any other standard, and their perseverance, together with the bitter aversion which the two other factions entertained for the object of each others choice, might have finally prevailed, if unfortunately for them, De Salm, who was hastening to Rome from Venice, had not died by the way. The fever which destroyed him, was imputed to the hurry and anxiety of his mind, and the unreasonable expedition he had made use of in his journey. This event reduced the friends of reformation to despair, and they prepared to range themselves at the next scrutiny, with the partizans of Spain. The contest was considered as decided, and the faction of Caraffa hastened to enlist themselves under a standard which they saw must be crowned with success in spite of their opposition.

“ The candidate, whose cause appeared thus to be secure, was a native of Toledo, of obscure birth, but of great natural abilities. He became a soldier at a very early age, and rising soon to command, he signalized himself in the Spanish wars against the Moors as much by ferocious cruelty, as by courage and good conduct. After a while, he abjured the soldier and turned Monk, and being raised to an high post in the office of the Inquisition in Grenada, he contrived to make his new function as instrumental to death and destruction as his former one. Through his own address and the favour of Spain, he rose at length to his present elevated station in the church ; and though his conduct was always exempt from licentiousness and levity, he was generally considered as exceeding most of his contemporaries in cruelty, revenge, pride and malice.

“ He attended his master Philip to England, and while there, quarrelled with Felix. In this contest, however, he was worsted, and his pride was severely mortified by the treatment he received from the primate. He never forgot this imaginary injury, and took every occasion of defaming and embarrassing the author of it. He was accustomed to stigmatize Felix as an apostate, heretic and traitor ; and the latter had, on this very occasion been summoned to Rome, on charges exhibited by him. If he had now been made Pope, the malicious accuser would have become a relentless judge, and nothing but his high rank, and the veneration of all Christendom could screen him from the persecution of so rancorous an enemy. He had now the certain prospect of as much calamity to himself and to mankind as can flow from the character of a pope, and already ruminated on the plan of withdrawing entirely from all public transactions, and sheltering himself in the shade of some cloister, when the scrutiny commenced. The surprising result was that many more than the adequate proportion of suffrages were united in favour of Felix himself. He was the first to alledge the possibility of some mistake in the process, and desired it to be repeated. The second scrutiny was still more favourable, and thus, without the smallest previous intimation or suspicion, did he find himself exalted to the pinnacle of honour.

“ This surprising revolution was brought about by the mere eloquence of Caprara, who in a separate assembly of his own adherents and those of Caraffa, had displayed the evils resulting from the choice of the Spaniard in such vivid colours, that they finally concurred in choosing Felix, and the scrutiny coming on while their imagination was occupied and inflamed by this rhetorick, they hurried to an irrevocable election. Though no choice could be expected, with less probability, from the prejudices and passions of such electors, no choice could be, in itself, wiser and more prudent, and none could have excited more joy throughout the christian world. It is, however, as signal an instance of the triumph of eloquence over the resolutions of men as has ever been recorded.

“ When informed of the election of Felix, the king of Spain was deeply alarmed. A character more adverse to his own and more hostile to all his views, the whole college, he imagined, could not afford. His terror subsided by very slow degrees, and it was not wholly dissipated but by long experience of the new pontiff's inflexible integrity.

“ The scenes of cruelty and bigotry which then polluted almost every kingdom in Europe, excited the horror and regret of this good pontiff. He strenuously counteracted all the ambitious projects of Philip the Second. He denied his sanction to the bloody persecutions of that monarch, and exerted all his influence to divert him from his wars against the Flemings on one side, and the Moors on the other. To every confederacy and expedition against the Turks he liberally contributed. Among the powers of Europe, he acted invariably the paternal part of a peace-maker. To the protestant nations he behaved without any of the haughtiness or rancour which distinguished his predecessors, and obtained their gratitude and veneration. In the government of his own territories, he anxiously consulted the happiness of the people, and established order, peace and prosperity among them in a degree to which they had ever before, and have always since been strangers. No pontiff ever acquired, in an equal degree, the reverence of his own subjects and those acts of worship which form the regular ceremonial of the papal court, were, with regard to him, accompanied by sen-

ments of absolute idolatry. He was imagined, by the vulgar, to possess a supernatural power over life and death, and those miracles, which modern saints usually perform after their death, were universally believed to be performed by him while living. He was beatified and canonized by his successor, contrary to established usage, but with the general applause of Christendom.

“ During his thirty years retirement in Sardinia, he might, with more propriety, be considered as the sovereign, than his nephew. Though the latter had an impetuous ambition, which in general spurned opposition and controul, his religion taught him to consider his uncle as the vicar and interpreter of God, to whose dictates the most implicit submission was a sacred duty. He justly regarded his uncle as the sole author of his greatness, first, in giving him his cousin in marriage, next in obtaining a cession of the islands from Spain and Genoa ; and, thirdly, in supplying him with soldiers, arms and ammunition ; and, lastly, by rendering him and his posterity as independent of Rome as of Spain.

“ It was certainly in the pope’s power to have made these islands the absolute property of the Roman see. In extent and fertility they were not inferior to the papal territories in Italy, and their insular position in the centre of the Mediterranean made them much more secure from inroads and invasions than the dominions on the continent. As they might be considered as having been purchased by the pontifical treasures, the see of Rome appeared to have an equitable right to them, and as the spiritual authority of the pope’s considerably depended on their temporal power, this addition to their kingdom would greatly contribute to their weight and consequence. Their ecclesiastical empire had been vastly impaired during this century by the heresies of Calvin and Luther. Their revenues had experienced a proportionable diminution, but these losses would be more than counterbalanced by the sovereignty of these islands, where not only the whole civil and sacerdotal power might be vested in the pope ; but if he thought proper, the very soil itself, and all that it produced or maintained.

“ Though the subject was generally viewed in this light, the pontiff reasoned in a very different manner. He considered the union of civil and ecclesiastical functions in the same

purpose as a prolific source of corruption and depravity, and as the principal abuse as well as the cause of almost all the abuses with which the court of Rome had been charged. The character and conduct of the pontiffs had been exposed to ridicule and detestation, by their indecent lust after riches and power, by their ambition and perfidy in acquiring, and their prodigality and weakness in dismembering the lands and territories of their neighbours. To add to their dominions, therefore, would only add to their luxury and vices, would only blend and entangle still more jurisdictions that ought to be left distinct and separate, and only tend to diminish the veneration due to them as heads of the church.

Felix, likewise, well knew the evils and corruptions inseparable from the civil government of the popes. To subject these islands to the Roman see would be to ensure and perpetuate the superstition, anarchy and misery in which their ancient masters had plunged them. He knew that his own power would terminate with his life, and that the principles by which he had conducted the government would probably be laid aside and forgotten by his successor. In providing for the durable welfare and felicity of his new territories he conceived himself discharging the most sacred duties of his station, and the treasures which belonged to him as pontiff could not be employed in a more beneficent and salutary manner. To erect a kingdom in these islands, absolutely independent, and rendered prosperous and powerful by wise institutions and laws, would be to augment essentially the strength of Christendom, and raise up a bulwark against the progress of the Turks far more formidable than hitherto existed.

These views, though they carried irresistible evidence to his own thoughts, he could not with propriety and safety, publish to the world. His notions on the propriety of severing the temporal and spiritual power of the popes would have been branded as the most odious heresy. On this head, therefore, he maintained a discreet silence, and allowed the politicians of the age to arraign his motives as selfish and ambitious. To aggrandize his nephew, and gratify his own am-

bition by founding a new and powerful kingdom, were naturally supposed to be the passions that swayed him.

To effect his purposes, he conceived it necessary not only to make this new kingdom as distinct as possible from all its neighbours, and especially from the Roman pontiffs, in political, but also in ecclesiastical matters. There was no great difficulty in giving it civil independence. It was easy for him to preserve the princes of Sardinia from any feudal subordination or dependence on Rome : but to deprive his successors of all spiritual jurisdiction in these islands, should seem to be a most dangerous project. The bigots could hardly fail to clamour loudly against this scheme. The pontiff listened with patience to their reproaches, and pursued, at the same time, his own way, with inflexible resolution. He restored to the monasteries their ancient discipline, and especially their right to choose their own abbots. The Deans he invested with the choice of their bishop, and the bishops, first with the choice of their Deans, and secondly with that of the archbishop of Tinina. He allowed none to be eligible to any of these offices, but natives and residents within the islands, and obliged them not only to pass through a long probationary trial, but to subscribe to the creeds and canons which he ordained and prescribed. He prescribed rules for assembling synods and insular councils, and explained with great exactness and minuteness, their jurisdictions and privileges and duties. For himself, as pope, and his successors, he solemnly renounced, after a certain period, all the claims and prerogatives, hitherto enjoyed by the Roman bishops, and either abolished them entirely, or vested them in the archbishops, bishops and abbots of the island.

Felix had certainly reason to congratulate himself on his rare good fortune. Among the reveries of his youth, the favourite dream was that of a government, ecclesiastical and civil, perfectly constituted and perfectly administered. By attaining the papacy, and then acquiring, in his nephew's person, the absolute possession of these islands, he obtained the power of modelling the government and laws of a considerable territory, in a degree only inferior to that which the deity himself possessed. He was exposed to none of the difficulties which ordinary legislators have to encounter. As to the people them-

selves, the success of his nephew's arms had put their property and lives into his hands, and their implicit faith subjected their most ancient customs and inveterate opinions to his absolute controul, as supreme pontiff. By his will, their religion permitted every fundamental law and moral obligation to be changed or modified. As to their former masters, Felix had entered the islands as the friend and ally of Spain, and Philip had forever renounced all dominion and superiority over them. As to the papal claims, which, in ordinary cases would have been most difficult to withstand or elude, the pope himself found it at once, his duty and interest to renounce them, and his whole pontifical authority was exerted not to uphold or enforce, but to annihilate them.

So far as a new religion consists in selecting a new object of worship, and regulating the social duties and private conduct of men by new maxims, the Roman pontiffs are invested with considerable power in prescribing and new modelling religion. An order is an institution by which men bind themselves to practise certain duties, either in relation to God in acts of worship, or in relation to their fellow men. This institution to be valid must be sanctioned by the pope, after which it becomes a legal obligation the observance of which is enforced by the same penalties as obedience to any civil laws whatsoever. Such orders may, in many respects, be considered as new sects, whose birth and increase produce no jealousy or scandal, and which are branches of the general religion of a nation that rather add strength and beauty to the main stock than take them away.

Under this view, and in virtue of this prerogative, it was in the power of Felix, to bestow on the Sardinians a religion as well as a government, in many respects, new and peculiar to themselves. By creating a new order, whose patronness should be St. Ulpha, and by dividing this order into many classes and branches, there was no great difficulty in making it comprehend, under the different classes, almost all the community ; and thus creating a species of religion, on the object of worship : in the language, symbols and rites of that worship, and in those articles of faith which prescribe to us what we must do, and from what we must abstain, visibly different from any prevailing in the world.

I mentioned before that this pontiff believed himself under the visible and direct influence of St. Ulpha, in every important action of his life, and in all his religious opinions. The whole system, ecclesiastical and civil, of Sardinia, flowed immediately from this source, and had therefore a divine authority in the minds of its disciples not inferior to that of any system of religion whatever. Felix not only by virtue of his office, but likewise by virtue of a special revelation, was the messenger and interpreter of Heaven, and his decrees were submitted to as the expressed will of God.

Notwithstanding all the abuses in their government, the two Islands were extremely populous in the sixteenth century. Though roughened by mountains and rocks, and embarrassed by fens and pools, they contained many fertile vallies and luxuriant plains. The extreme simplicity of the people in their mode of life, and the natural mildness of their climate, made subsistence cheap and easy. Almost their only beverage was water and a weak wine, and their diet bread made of maize, with the milk, butter and cheese of their flocks. An home manufacture of coarse cotton supplied them with all their cloathing, and the few articles they got from other grounds or hands than their own, were obtained in barter for their silk, honey, olives, the surplus produce of their dairies and increase of their cattle. In spite of anarchy and turbulence, oppression and neglect, their villages were thickly strewn among rocks and precipices, and a cottage seemed to grow up as naturally as a chesnut tree, in every hollow or crevice that afforded a footing for one.

A village is a cluster of houses, consisting each of one room, about twelve or fifteen feet in diameter by as many high. They are of a conical figure, built of loose irregular stones which abound every where, and which are nicely adjusted to each other so as to constitute a firm and even wall. At a distance they have pretty much the appearance of tents having nearly the same shape and colour. Their grapes are planted in spots favourable to cultivation. The grand close about the village is laid out in plots of about four acres in each; of these there are as many as there are houses, and consequently families in the village. Their allotments are cultivated with the hoe and fork.

